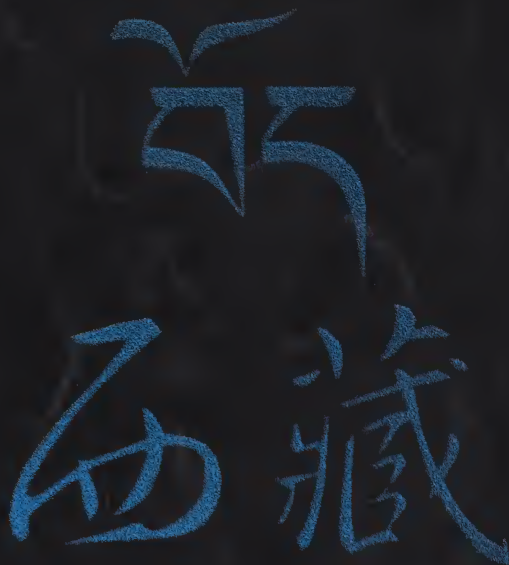




Background Briefing Papers

Political Campaigns

Documents and Statements from Tibet: 1996-1997

Tibet Information Network
 བོད་ཁྲིམས་ལྟར་གྲུབ་པའི་
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Patriotic Education
 Spiritual Civilisation
 Strike Hard



Hartley

Background Briefing Papers

Documents and Statements from Tibet, 1996-1997

Tibet Information Network
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Tibet Information Network

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Background Briefing Papers, No. 30 Documents and Statements from Tibet, 1996-1997

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Preface

This Background Briefing Paper describes three campaigns that have been implemented in Tibet during the last two years. All three of these campaigns, which were launched in 1996, are essentially political in nature. The programme of Patriotic Education was launched in May 1996, implemented first in the monasteries and then extended to the rest of society. In the same month, a rally was held in Lhasa to launch the Strike Hard campaign against crime in Tibet. Meanwhile, statements by leading officials indicated that the construction of Spiritual Civilisation was to be stepped up; following the 2nd plenary session of the 5th Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) Party Committee in November 1996, great emphasis was placed on this in policy statements and news items. All three ideological drives continued during 1997 and, to a greater or lesser extent, into the first half of 1998.

The origins of these campaigns can be found in policies introduced initially at the central or national level. For example, Deng Xiaoping introduced the concept of "spiritual civilisation" at the end of the 1970s. The motivation was to provide something of a remedy for the "crisis of faith" which had arisen after the chaos of the Cultural Revolution, and to help restore normal standards of behaviour. It was also seen as providing impetus for the building of material civilisation and helping to ensure that the latter developed correctly. References to the "two civilisations" continued to appear in the official press throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In autumn 1996, following the 6th plenary session of the 14th Central Committee, a fresh campaign to build Spiritual Civilisation was launched in China. Similarly, the first "strike hard" or anti-crime drive was launched in China in 1983, the result of growing concern about

a perceived rise in the crime rate during the process of reform and opening up. Another Strike Hard drive, aimed at common crimes such as murder and robbery, was launched throughout China in 1990-1, prior to the launch of a major campaign in April 1996.

Notwithstanding their common origins, the campaigns as implemented in Tibet have been quite distinctive in their nature and focus. This results from the unique motivations and aims that determine policy in the region. In particular, since the Third Forum on Work in Tibet in 1994, there has been a growing emphasis on challenging the political and religious authority of the Dalai Lama, attacking "splittists" and any form of pro-independence activity including demonstrations and "sabotage". There has also been an emphasis on the adaptation of traditional ideas, customs and religious beliefs to suit socialist society. These preoccupations can be traced through each of the drives dealt with here. The aim of the Patriotic Education campaign, according to TAR Party secretary Chen Kuiyuan, was to "cleanse the feudal, foolish and backward atmosphere poisoned by the Dalai clique"; much of the literature used during the campaign focuses on denouncing the Dalai Lama. The campaign was carried out first in the monasteries, traditionally seen as bases for dissent; at the end of 1997, the campaign was extended to the lay community. Meanwhile, Ragdi (executive deputy secretary of the TAR Party Committee) linked the Strike Hard campaign specifically with the anti-separatist struggle, accusing the "Dalai clique" of constantly carrying out violent and terrorist sabotage activities. Throughout the Strike Hard campaign, the focus of official statements and press articles has been "splittism" and "splittists". The emphasis of the Spiritual

Civilisation drive has been on adapting traditional ideas and religion to suit socialist society and on overcoming "narrow nationalism". Clearly, the determination of the Party to eradicate separatism has been crucial in determining the nature of the campaigns in Tibet. Another result has been the blurring of the boundaries between the different campaigns, to the point where one may almost be seen as part of another.

By mid 1998, Patriotic Education had been carried out in most monasteries in the TAR. Ragdi (executive deputy Party secretary of the TAR) said on 11 March 1998 that "law and order has returned", and described the situation as "very stable". Nonetheless, the TAR Congress held in June 1998 stated that opposing separatism is still the top political task; the campaign may well be stepped up. There has been significantly less mention of Spiritual Civilisation during the first half of 1998, though there were signs of a greater emphasis on the study of Deng Xiaoping Theory at national and TAR level. The Strike Hard campaign, originally intended to last three months, now appears to be an ongoing campaign with peaks and troughs of activity.

In these Briefing Papers, each campaign has its own separate section, in which selected official documents provide background together with some detail about the aims the campaign is intended to achieve, while newspaper articles (translated either from Tibetan or Chinese) provide a semi-official view of progress. Where available, accounts are provided of the experiences of people who were directly affected. Also included in the Patriotic Education section are substantial extracts from the textbooks used in the monasteries, other teaching materials and an examination paper.



Patriotic Education

"We do not recognise him [the Dalai Lama] at all as a religious authority."

Chen Kuiyuan, 14 May 1996

"The Dalai is a conspirator, the chief of the splittist movement aspiring for Tibetan Independence, the unequivocal tool of the western forces inimical towards China, the main source of all disturbances in Tibetan society, and the biggest stumbling block to the establishment of normal religious discipline in Tibetan Buddhism."

Patriotic Education Book I, June 1996

"It is clear that some monasteries have become bases for splittist activities of the Dalai clique, where a handful of criminal monks and nuns have become the chief provocateurs of disturbances and conflicts."

Patriotic Education Book II, June 1996

"The management of the monasteries must be strengthened in an uncompromising and persistent manner in conjunction with the task of propagating knowledge about the legal system."

Patriotic Education Book III, June 1996

"The broad masses of people of religious circles are free from anxiety and wholeheartedly support our Party's policy on religion."

Ragdi, 13 May 1998



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Introduction

In September 1994 the first "Patriotic Education" campaign was launched in China, initially in schools and designed, particularly in areas like Tibet, to teach children "firm opposition to separation, safeguarding the unity of the motherland, [and] enhancement of national unity". It involved the daily raising of the Chinese flag in each school and the chanting of the national anthem, as well as the study of an approved list of patriotic books and films. Nearly two years later, in May 1996, a much more ambitious version of this campaign was launched in Tibet, this time targeting monks and nuns. The campaign involves compulsory attendance at study sessions and often leads to punishments for individuals who fail to co-operate.

The policy demonstrates the Chinese leadership's renewed determination to "adapt" Tibetan Buddhism to socialism. As TAR deputy Party secretary Ragdi put it in September 1996: "Ideologically, religion [...] objectively contradicts communists' dialectical materialism and historical materialism. [...] The work of educating and screening monasteries basically aims to establish in monasteries a normal and strict order that suits socialist society". Tibet's Party secretary, Chen Kuiyuan, was rather more specific when he said in a speech he made in November 1996 that the campaign aims to "cleanse the feudal, foolish and backward atmosphere poisoned by the Dalai clique".

Attacks on the "Dalai clique"'s perceived "splittist" activities, and on the Dalai Lama as a political and as a religious figure, are also central in the drive to construct Spiritual Civilisation. For example, in his speech on 23 July 1996 at a mobilisation rally, Chen Kuiyuan asserted that the Dalai Lama has betrayed the "aim of Buddhism" and said that one of Tibet's important tasks in constructing Spiritual Civilisation was to "screen and eliminate Dalai's influence in the spiritual field". Other tasks, according to Chen, were correctly handling the issue of religion and establishing a "proper concept" of religion. Patriotic Education, with its very similar aims and motivations, can almost be seen as a branch of the Spiritual Civilisation drive. However, Patriotic Education differs from the somewhat vaguely defined Spiritual Civilisation drive by having a clear time frame and scope and specific goals (see in particular document 8). The campaign in monasteries and nunneries has dominated religious policy in the TAR since 1996

and in the first week of October 1997, the campaign was started in the five major Tibetan monasteries in Qinghai province.

In practical terms, the Patriotic Education campaign involves sending teams of Party officials to spend three months or more in each monastery in Tibet, where they give daily classes in history, law, religious policy and politics. Monks and nuns are required to study four books during compulsory study sessions, under the direction of the work teams. At the end of the three month sessions the monks have to sit one or more examinations in which they have to give written answers to a number of questions about the status of Tibet, China's policies on religion, the legal system and history. One of these questions usually requires monks to list the four "hats" or condemnations currently applied to the Dalai Lama, effectively requiring the monks to denounce him. Monks are also required to provide a written declaration of loyalty. Individuals who fail to co-operate with the campaign often face punishments such as expulsion and/or imprisonment.

The first patriotic study sessions were held in Ganden monastery, in May 1996, shortly after monks had staged a protest against instructions to remove pictures of the exiled Dalai Lama from display. The campaign was extended to Sera monastery in June 1996 and then to Drepung in August. It appears from a Tibet Daily article published on 7 September 1996 that the authorities saw these three monasteries as a testing ground, and used them to gain experience so as to facilitate reorganisation of monasteries throughout the region. The study sessions were followed by protests, arrests and expulsions. For example, ninety-two monks were told at a meeting in Ganden monastery that they had gone against their nation (apparently on the basis of their behaviour during the preceding three months of Patriotic Education) and were expelled from the monastery on 30 August 1996. They were informed that they could not rejoin any monastery, nor go to Lhasa unless they were originally from that city. A second group of 60 to 70 monks was also expelled the following day (most of whom were reportedly below age 15 and not allowed by Chinese law to join monasteries). By December 1996, 120 nuns had also been expelled from Terdrom nunnery near Drigung; there were reports of 20 arrests and at least one death in custody.

The campaign was subsequently

extended to other religious centres. Between May 1996 and June 1997, there were reports from refugees and others that monks and nuns from at least 50 religious institutions were undergoing Patriotic Education, but it is now clear that many more were affected. Work teams were being sent to a large number of monasteries and nunneries in rural areas of the TAR. Here, the monks were in a much weaker position than those in the large Lhasa monasteries. Disagreements with the work teams seem to have led to a series of boycotts, lock-ins and other forms of protest. Unofficial reports in June 1997 indicated that three rural monasteries had refused to co-operate with the Patriotic Education teams. On 18 June, Chen Kuiyuan declared that re-education of monks was a "basic policy", effectively outlawing criticisms of the campaign. By March 1998, according to Deputy Secretary Ragdi on 11 March, 35,000 monks and nuns had been "re-educated" - over 75 per cent of all those in the region.

In November 1997 Jampa Kelden, head of the Nationalities and Religious Affairs Commission of the TAR, announced that steps should be taken to "spread Patriotic Education in the agricultural communities, towns, cities, government organs and schools". The announcement, carried by the Tibet Daily of 21 November, signalled the "success" of a pilot project carried out by the authorities to see if the Patriotic Education campaign could be safely adapted to the rural communities, where the Chinese are concerned that the Dalai Lama is increasing his influence. A report from the TAR Nationalities and Religious Affairs Commission published in November 1997 declared that: "In view of the acute and complicated anti-separatist struggle that has been going on for many years in Xexi [Kiyimshi] township and Suruolin [Sungrabling] Lamaseri, the autonomous regional Party Committee decided to let the autonomous region, Shannan [Lhokha] prefecture and Gonggar [Gongkar] county form a joint work group to carry out patriotism education among the monks, nuns, villagers and students in Xexi Township as a pilot project for the whole region". In a speech on 9 January 1998 Ragdi, executive deputy secretary of the TAR Party committee, described Kiyimshi as "a typical example of the Dalai clique's infiltration into the region's grass roots."

Work teams have continued to arrive at monasteries in Tibetan areas. A work

team visited Drag Yerpa, 30 kilometres northeast of Lhasa, in December 1997. Recent reports state that no monks or nuns were allowed to leave before the programme began, and that they were made to carry out manual work to repair a road leading up to the nunnery before the work team arrived. In April 1998, fifty nuns were expelled from Drag Yerpa. A work team visited Sakya gonpa in Kandze county, Sichuan province, in February-March 1998, according to one source. To date, unofficial accounts continue to emerge of protests, which have taken the form of putting up posters, raising the Tibetan flag and shouting slogans. In Rongpo Rabten monastery in Nagchu prefecture, fifteen monks were reported arrested during a Patriotic Education

campaign in March of this year. The monks' arrests followed attempts to force them to denounce the Dalai Lama.

At the same time, pronouncements made by officials in the TAR indicate that they consider the campaign a success. Ragdi, in his comments made on 13 May 1998 relating to the government work report for 1997, stated: "People's mental outlook has undergone a great change... We have now fully implemented the party's policy on religion. Normal religious activities are protected by the law. The broad masses of people of religious circles are free from anxiety and wholeheartedly support our party's policy on religion. Conducting education on patriotism at temples and lamaseries and the establishment of normal order have

played a great role in promoting stability in Tibet." Nonetheless, it was "emphatically pointed out" in the resolution relating to the government work report passed at the first session of the 7th TAR People's Congress that "protecting the unification of the motherland and opposing separatism is the top political task faced by us. We must continue to wage struggles against separatism in a deep-going manner." Bai Zhao, President of the TAR Higher People's Court, also emphasised in his work report to the TAR People's Congress of 15 May that cracking down on separatists and maintaining Tibet's social and political stability would always be the "task of top priority".

1. Launch of the Patriotic Education Campaign

New and restrictive policies relating to religion were first announced at the Third Forum on Work in Tibet in 1994. The attacks on the perceived political role of the Dalai Lama, which had begun to appear at this time, started to intensify after the Dalai Lama identified Gendun Choekyi Nyima as the 11th Panchen Lama on 14 May 1995. On 5 April 1996, an announcement in the Tibet Daily called for increased efforts to conduct Patriotic Education in religious activity centres and to "thoroughly eradicate the Dalai splittist forces influences". In his speech of 14 May (an extract of which is given as document 1), Chen Kuiyuan stated: "We do not

recognise him at all as a religious authority."

The Tibet Daily announcement of 5 April banned the display of photographs of the Dalai Lama in public places; this went beyond the earlier ban on the display of such photographs in government offices and government accommodation. An attempt to enforce this ban was made by a Patriotic Education work team which arrived at Ganden monastery in early May 1996. The monks staged a major protest which resulted in 6 monks being shot or otherwise injured, with one monk later dying of gunshot wounds. A work team arrived at Sera monastery on 12 May to enforce the ban on photographs, and

another work team commenced actual Patriotic Education at Drepung in early August.

It appears that trial runs took place prior to the full-scale implementation of the campaign. Document 2, a speech given by Jampa Losel, deputy chairman of Lhokha prefecture Buddhist Association, indicates that work teams had in fact been resident at Tra Drug monastery in that prefecture from 10 January 1996, carrying out teaching and publicity work in relation to central documents on religious affairs, law and discipline. Registration work, which was carried out before the study sessions commenced, had begun at this time, according to the speech.

Document 1: Speech by Chen Kuiyuan, 14 May 1996

The following is an extract from a speech given by Chen Kuiyuan to the 4th plenary session of the 6th TAR Party Congress and the 4th plenary session of the 6th CPPCC Tibet Regional Committee. In the speech, Chen said that the most important task in maintaining social stability in the TAR was the struggle against the "sabotage activities of the Dalai clique". He accused the "Dalai clique" of using "religion to split the country". Chen called for a "carefully differentiated rectification of the monasteries" within the TAR to counter their use "by [a] few die-hard reactionaries" as bases for carrying out "splittist activities". The original document is printed in Chinese. [TIN Ref 19(VD)]

Oppose the sabotage activities of the Dalai clique, resolutely defend the stability of Tibet.

Maintaining social stability is one of the two most important matters in our region. In maintaining stability, the most

common, prominent task is to struggle against the sabotage activities of the Dalai clique. In the past few decades, ever since

the Dalai clique first turned against the motherland, their destructive activities in planning to split the motherland have

never stopped. Therefore, the political and class struggle in opposition to the Dalai's splittist clique has also never stopped. The basic conditions if we are going to discuss development, discuss improving the people's livelihood, discuss the establishment of a unified, prosperous, cultured, socialist, new Tibet, are to resolutely resist the sabotage activities of the Dalai clique and create a social environment which concentrates its efforts on carrying out economic construction.

For many years, the Tibet Communist Party, the government, the army, the police and the people together have steadfastly carried out their anti-splittist struggle, and some martyrs have even lost their lives. Over the many years of struggle, we have had many successful experiences and have also learnt many lessons. Up to the present, there are still many people whose understanding about the nature of the Dalai Lama is confused, and there are still people whose political stance on the struggle against the Dalai clique is uncertain. They have not taken their stance in the struggle against the Dalai clique, they have not taken their stance in protecting the interests of the country, the race and the people. Within the party there are also sometimes negative, irresponsible and even wrong opinions. In the struggle against splittism, we are not only faced with the struggle against splittists themselves, but are also faced with the problem of inconsistent thinking within [the Party].

What sort of person is the Dalai? As a member of the Communist Party, what stance should I take on the Dalai? Comrade Li Ruihuan spoke very clearly, "The Dalai is the head of a splittist political clique which is plotting the independence of Tibet, he is a faithful tool of the international powers which oppose China, he is the main source of all the social unrest in Tibet, he is the greatest obstruction thwarting the establishment of normal order in Tibetan Buddhism. How can a Communist Party member pay homage to such a person? If we give up the struggle against the Dalai, stability cannot be realised in Tibet. Every true member of the Communist Party must have a correct understanding of the nature of the Dalai clique. The Dalai clique will risk death to carry out splittist and sabotage activities and panders to the needs of hostile Western forces in containing China. How large a destructive force and influence the Dalai clique has on our region is not only determined by the Dalai clique's political and religious

power. More important is the level and force of our anti-splittist activity. The reasons that the Dalai clique is still able to wreak a certain amount of havoc are that there are still differences in our understanding, sometimes we still lack force in our attack, politically we are not sharp enough and do not differentiate carefully enough. Some Party members think that to criticise the Dalai is a religious offence that will offend the people, and not only do they not participate in the struggle themselves, they also reproach the Party and the people for participating in the struggle. This is completely incorrect. Communists are atheists. If you take the Dalai as a religious idol and in the anti-splittist struggle avoid criticising the Dalai, then in your political life you cannot lead the people to struggle resolutely and effectively against the splittist clique which is headed by him. We do not recognise him at all as a religious authority.

Since last year, under the correct leadership of the Central Committee, we smashed the Dalai Clique's "Plan for Peaceful Entry into Tibet", successfully carried out the work of the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, and achieved a great victory in the anti-splittist struggle. At the same time, we have resolutely and effectively acted in the spirit of the Central Committee's Third Forum on Work in Tibet and a whole series of other guiding spirits [to achieve] notable acceleration in economic and social development, a clear improvement in the material and cultural living standards of the people and ever-increasing social stability. The victories of the Party and the people confuse and fluster the Dalai clique. Now that they can no longer manage to create upheaval by their old trouble-making tactics, they will not readily give up, to repent and be saved! Since Autumn last year, there have been several consecutive bombing incidents within the region, and they have taken their chances to smuggle within the borders weapons and ammunition and have sent in personnel to plot an armed rebellion. We believe that the violent sabotage carried out by the Dalai clique is not proof of their power, but is a last-ditch, dead-end struggle. Giving up their peaceful disguise is a clear indication of their weakness and their lack of alternative action, and carrying out violent sabotage is simply to continue to disrupt Tibet's pleasant aspect of stability and development and to terrorise patriots. Throughout history, within China and without, no strong country has ever been

overturned by the stupid violence of a few adventurers. However, we will never drop our guard against the violent sabotage of the Dalai clique's small handful of desperados. We must have a complete understanding of the nature of the present new struggle against the enemy. We have the confidence, the determination and the capacity to use every powerful means resolutely to put an end to the violent sabotage of the Dalai clique and thoroughly crush all the plans of the Dalai clique to split the motherland.

The influence of Tibetan Buddhism is very wide-ranging. Our Party's consistent policy has been [to uphold] the freedom of religious beliefs and to protect normal religious activity. The state has also contributed a lot of money to the maintenance of temples and monasteries and to supporting normal religious activities while at the same time, in accordance with the law, supervising the temples and monasteries and not allowing them to use religion to carry out any activities that would damage the interests of the state or the people. At present, the vast majority of Buddhist monks and nuns in our region are law-abiding, patriotic and devout, but there are a few die-hard reactionaries in the monasteries who are hell-bent on following the Dalai. Hostile forces are constantly plotting to use the Dalai's religious influence and these reactionaries to make the monasteries into their base for carrying out separatist activities within the region. On March 9th this year, one of the prominent figures within the Dalai clique, Living Buddha Sang Dong [Samdong Rinpoche] let the cat out of the bag when he said that over the last 37 years "the main lesson they have learnt was the failure to carry out consistently the policy of combining religion with politics, of over-emphasising religion and ignoring politics". He particularly emphasised: "We must use religion to organise the people into a strong political force". The enemy is clearly using religion to split the country, how can we then sit back and watch them take control of our monasteries and subvert the political rights of the people and do nothing about it? In order to beat the splittist and saboteur activities of the Dalai clique and protect the normal religious life of the masses of religious devotees, we must carry out a carefully differentiated rectification of the monasteries within our region. Resolutely support the patriotic, devout and law-abiding monks and nuns, while at the same time resolutely rectify those monasteries which have been manipulated by the Dalai clique and

where the monks and nuns frequently cause trouble, protect the true holy and pure nature of the monasteries and the canons and doctrines of Buddhism, and do not allow them to be manipulated or used by hostile elements. We must resolutely carry out the instructions which Comrade

Li Ruihuan gave us on behalf of the Central Committee: "In our country, every person and every group of any religion must guard the sanctity of the law, defend the people's interests, protect the unity of the nationalities and guard the unity of the nation. In our country, no person and no

group of any religion is allowed to contravene the laws of the country, damage the interests of the people, create splittism among the nationalities or damage the unity of the nation. These are the most basic standards of behaviour."

Document 2: Briefing by Jampa Losel, May 1996

Jampa Losel, the deputy chairman of Lhokha Prefecture Buddhist Association, gave a briefing in May 1996 at the 4th session of the CPPCC 6th Tibet Regional Committee on maintaining stability and development in Lhokha prefecture by implementing the Party's policy on religion and by strengthening the management of monasteries. Jampa Losel sets out in his briefing the steps taken to strengthen the management of monasteries and places of worship, the Patriotic Education of monks and nuns and the effects of this on the monasteries and on society. [TIN Ref 31(VF)]

Maintaining stability and development by implementing the Party's policy on religion comprehensively by strengthening the management of the monasteries.

Speech by Committee member Qampa Losal [Jampa Losel]

The Third Forum on Work in Tibet held by the central authorities has had auspicious and important implications for the political and religious life of our monks, nuns, and the believing masses in our prefecture; it is certain to encourage and instigate the forward march of religious affairs in our prefecture, more than ever before, on the path of modernisation through socialism with Chinese characteristics.

I shall present a brief report about our prefecture's policy on religion, management of the monasteries, and work on religion in maintaining stability and development.

I. Serious Implementation of the policy on religion

It is a long-term and fundamental policy of the Party and of the government to protect and implement the Party's policy of religious freedom in a proper and comprehensive manner. 'Religious freedom' implies the freedom to believe in Buddhism or not to believe in religion. It implies the right to believe in religion as well as the obligations of citizenship, and it is protected by the Constitution.

No one is allowed to misuse religion to oppose the Party's leadership and socialism, to split the motherland and to sabotage the solidarity of the nationalities, to damage people's health and the good traditions of the community, or to offend against the law by committing crimes.

We emphasise that religion is not allowed to interfere with administration, law, education and marriage. Monasteries are not allowed to restore their old juris-

diction relationships. We also emphasise that whether you believe in religion or not, the basic interests of the masses are the same, and we must treat people equally, must respect each other and must endeavour together in the construction of socialism. Due to this emphasis there has not been any pressure on religious believers or non-believers in the past few years in our prefecture. The freedoms and rights of religious believers and non-believers have been protected in accordance with the provisions of the law.

II. Strenuous and whole-hearted efforts made to strengthen the management of monasteries and of places of religious activities.

1. We have carried out comprehensive reorganisation of the monasteries twice, at the local level with unflinching determination.

The first reorganisation was carried out in 1988 in accordance with the guidelines of "Regulations on the Democratic Management of Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries". The key features were: shifting the focus of efforts from restoring and building monasteries to making rules and regulations, refining these rules and establishing Democratic Management Committees and to Administrative Units in order to strengthen the management of the monasteries.

The second reorganisation was carried out in 1989, with the following key features: conducting a thorough search and investigation of people and materials related to the riots; searching and prohibiting reactionary scriptures, photos,

and audio tapes; and setting up files on monks and nuns.

These reorganisations strengthened the role of the Democratic Management Committees and the monks and, at the same time, contributed to the education of the monks and nuns in patriotism, discipline and abiding by the law. At present, all the monasteries in the prefecture have established Democratic Management Committees; even the small religious organisations or hermitages have adopted democratic management units or appointed a special person in charge.

2. The monastic rules and regulations, as well as the religious codes of conduct, have been revised and enhanced; and in all the major monasteries the following have been introduced: system of studies in politics, law and current affairs; scriptural studies; registration and accountability of economic property; preserving cultural relics; safety and security; productive labour; and procedures for seeking permission and submitting reports. Through such measures a responsibility system was introduced, individuals given particular duties and attempts made to devise special methods to protect precious cultural relics.

3. Ceilings were placed on the number of monasteries, monks and nuns for the whole prefecture. Between 1985 and 1987, religious activities in the prefecture flourished so much that places of religious practice increased sharply from 10 to 200. The construction of monasteries was carried out without considering the burden

on the public, and in some cases, money was borrowed from the State for the constructions. In view of such a drastic situation, under the leadership of the prefecture's Party Committee and the local government, taking into stock the overall picture, we restricted the number of monasteries to 210, and the number of monks to just over 2,100.

Document No 44 (1988) of Lhokha government was circulated to the county authorities with signed instructions for implementation during the course of five years without any alteration. In 1993, the fifth year, it was revised and distributed with a memorandum signed by Chairman Kung Hru wu [kung hru'u] as Document No 7 (1993) of the prefectural government. In accordance with its contents, the number of number of monks and nuns was restricted to 2,300 which has satisfied the monks, nuns and the masses.

4. Registration of places of religious practice is undertaken in our prefecture.

According to the resolutions of the State Council's document "Regulations Relating to the Management of Religious Activities", we had these places registered to become eligible for legal status and protection of their legal rights. The registration work is a legal requirement as well as an important aspect of the government's management of religious affairs in accordance with the law.

5. To ensure the successful implementation of the task of registering places of religious practice throughout the prefecture, we decided to conduct trial runs at Tra Drug [khra 'brug] monastery where the basic conditions were relatively good.

The Work Team, comprising members from both the prefecture and county level administrations, arrived in Tra Drug monastery on 10 January this year and successfully completed their trial run of the programme on 19 January. This Work Team was led by the Religious Affairs Department of the prefecture and its constituent units at the local level, representatives of Nedong [sne gdong rdzong] and other counties. The Work Team carried out their tasks in a systematic way, focusing on education to rid the people's minds of various misapprehensions; giving priority to the tasks of propagating the central government's regulations relating to places of religious practice, and the propagation and education about the legal system. Thus the Work Team achieved complete success in terms of

clarifying and convincing the people about the aims and the main reasons for registering places of religious practice.

By carrying out a variety of functions: drafting the document "Registration and List of Places of Religious Practice", writing the representations made by Democratic Management Committees and individual monks and nuns of the monasteries, vetting and granting approval to personnel involved in religious and legal affairs, and issuing full certificates and temporary certificates to those engaged in religious activities. Overall, our aim is to complete the registration work for the whole prefecture by the end of this year.

The ongoing work of getting the places of religious practice registered is aimed at gradually making the management and control of the monasteries conform to legal provisions so that their legal rights can be protected, and to ensure the enforcement of the Constitution, the laws and the Party's policy on religion in places of religious practice.

III. Giving number one priority and consolidating the task of continuing the programme of political education of the monks and nuns in order to instigate and secure political stability and economic development

For a long time the hostile international forces have been using religion as a non-violent tool to infiltrate, subvert, and transform the nature of our country. At the same time, splittists in our region have stepped up their efforts to split and sabotage our country by confronting us to wrest control of the monasteries and the masses. They are harbouring the evil hope of securing the monasteries as their base to carry out separatist activities.

Whether or not we can arrive at a correct decision about our stand and attitude towards religion is a matter of crucial significance to the task of developing socialism in our country, and therefore, critical to the success or failure in securing peace and stability in society on the one hand and the friendship and solidarity of the nationalities on the other.

Therefore, we have given number one priority to the task of educating the monks and nuns in patriotism, socialism, unity of the nationalities and the legal system as a strategy to secure a period of stability by opposing the splittists on a long term basis.

1. Reforming and reorganising on the basis of the nature of target places

With the help of the relevant depart-

ments, we have struck hard at those who have misused religion to engage in criminal and illegal activities. A very small number of monasteries in Gongkar county have been the source of many reactionary posters provoking disturbances and, therefore, under the leadership of the Religious Affairs Department of the prefecture and the county authorities visited the concerned monasteries several times to carry out reforms and reorganisation. They co-operated with the judicial department in finding out those responsible for writing the reactionary posters; and supporting the work of the Democratic Management Committees by educating the monks and nuns politically and ideologically. For example, Sungrabling monastery of Kyimshi village in Gongkar county was the first monastery in the prefecture where reactionary posters were put up conspicuously by the monks. So in 1989, through reforms and reorganisations, the guilty people were punished in accordance with the law while those guilty of minor offences were dealt with leniently. At the same time, the number of monks was reduced and the Democratic Management Committee was reorganised. By nipping in the bud the causes of instability as soon as they appeared, we were able to prevent them from spreading, and secured stability in society.

2. Lightening the burden of the State and the devout masses by attracting inward funding by the skilful use of the potential resource of the religious organisations and people involved in religious affairs

The Buddhist Association has a vital function to serve as a bridge and a cementing force, in the implement the Party's policy on religion, for the normalisation of religious affairs, checking infiltration by foreign religious forces, and the proper management of religious affairs.

The religious Lamas and Reincarnates [sprul sku] have always co-operated by educating the monks and nuns, supporting the government in placing limits on the number of monks and nuns, and by forwarding the wishes of the monks and nuns to the higher authorities.

In particular, last year on 14 May [1995], when the Dalai arbitrarily and illegally announced his recognition of the Panchen's reincarnation to foreign countries, the prefecture government and Nationality and Religious Affairs Department convened an emergency meeting of patriotic and religious persons and monks and nuns in charge of their

monasteries. At this meeting, the answers given by the spokesman of the State Council to the Xinhua correspondent's questions were publicised, and all the participants wholeheartedly supported the Central Party's instructions. They made a clear stand to defend the honour and prestige of the Party Central Committee, and refuted the Dalai's criminal claims from the point of view of religious tradition, historical convention and legal standpoint. As the Dalai used the Panchen's reincarnation issue to cause disturbances in Tibet, to create confusion, to sabotage stability and to challenge the central government, we did not remain idle bystanders and we drew a clear demarcation line to declare our position, and revealed our determination to be true patriots who love our country and religion.

3. Improvement in self-sufficiency as a result of effective implementation of the policy of 'monasteries supporting themselves'.

More than a few monasteries are engaged in transportation, commerce, medical treatment of the masses and tourism; they have secured contracts to run mills and electricity power stations, grain and food-oil processing, brought

wasteland under cultivation, planted trees and fruit. By engaging in occasional work in agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry, the income of the monasteries has risen conspicuously, and the living standard of the monks and nuns has improved. For instance, Lhodrag [Lho drag] monastery in Gongkar county, Mindol Ling [Smin Sdrol Gling] monastery of Dranang county, Yasang [gya' bzang] monastery of Nedong county and Trowa [spro ba] monastery of Lhodrag county, etc., provide many such examples of self-supporting activities. By sharing and disseminating their experiences, they have contributed enormously to the propagation and success of the idea of 'monasteries supporting themselves'.

In short, as a result of implementing the policy of 'freedom of religion' in the management of the monasteries, and by reviewing and improving certain aspects of management practice, we have achieved, in the past few years, a period of social stability which in turn has enhanced economic development and created a slightly more stable political environment.

However, there are still a lot of inadequacies to be addressed: the struggle against splittism remains acute, factors of instability persist, those inconspicuous elements who use religion for their

separatist activities have not been adequately exposed, inadequate knowledge about recognising incarnate lamas, and the inability to effectively prevent the activities of monks and nuns coming from abroad.

Finally, we will whole-heartedly unite around the Central Party, be guided by comrade Deng Xiaoping's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and the Party's basic guidelines, seriously implement the Party's policy on religion, implement the spirit of the Third Forum on Work in Tibet, and bear our responsibilities with two hands firmly in order to carry out the twin tasks of developing the economy of the Tibet region and Lhokha prefecture and achieving stability. To achieve these tasks, we must strive hard to achieve the goals of 'reform and opening up'; the goals of the 9th Five Year Plan for national economic and social development and the long-term goals set for the year 2010.

Jampa Losel [byams pa blo gsal]

Deputy-Chairman
Buddhist Association
Lhokha Prefecture

2. Implementation of the Patriotic Education Campaign

The stated purposes of the campaign were set out, *inter alia*, in a set of instructions given to all monks at Sera monastery. These instructions were, in brief:

- * to implement the Party's policy on religion totally and correctly
- * to stress the management of religious affairs according to law
- * to initiate efforts for the harmonious co-existence between religious and socialist societies
- * to create thought of patriotism
- * to implant in monks the views of the government
- * to educate monks "to oppose completely any activities aimed at splitting the motherland".

Patriotic Education was carried out primarily through the study of four books published in June 1996 by the "Governing Office for Propagating Patriotic Education

in All Monasteries Throughout the TAR".

Translations of extracts from these books are given below. The first of the four books deals with the history of the relationship between Tibet and China, including the process of recognition of reincarnations of the Dalai Lama. The second deals with "splittism" and the "Dalai clique". The extracts translated deal with a number of sensitive issues including recognition of the 11th Panchen Lama, an analysis of purported attempts to split Tibet from China and control of monks and nuns "according to law". The third book deals with the legal system, including the constitution and criminal law; extracts translated deal with propagation of the legal system, a summary of the constitution, information about regional autonomy and a summary of relevant parts of the criminal law. The fourth book deals with the Party's policy

on religion, the stipulations of the constitution, discipline in the monasteries and uniting to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. Extracts translated deal with the importance of regulations and sound management in the monasteries.

Model questions and answers were provided in addition to the four books. Two sets of model questions and answers are reproduced in translation here. The topics covered include Li Ruihuan's four points describing the Dalai Lama, the "four cardinal devotions" to be assimilated by monks and nuns, and other points on the "Dalai clique's" "splittist activities". Posters were also put up in the monasteries; the texts of two posters put up at Sakya monastery in Shigatse prefecture are reproduced here.

At the end of Patriotic Education sessions, monks were required to take one or more examinations in which they had

to give written answers to a number of questions about the status of Tibet and China's policies on religion, law and history. An examination paper provided at Sera monastery is reproduced here. Monks who passed were issued with

either a red pass, which allowed them to remain officially in the monastery, or a blue pass, which was a temporary document, allowing for observation of the holder by the police at monthly intervals over a one year period. A translation of

one such pass is included, as is an explanation given by a Tibetan of how the passes are issued.

Individual accounts of the implementation of Patriotic Education and the reactions to it are given in section 3.

A: Patriotic Education Books

Document 3: Patriotic Education Book I

This document is the first of four books issued by the work teams in the monasteries during the Patriotic Education campaign. The following is a translation of the contents page with an extract from Chapter 11 which gives an account of the process of recognition, confirmation and enthronement of successive reincarnations of the Dalai Lama, citing the cases of the eighth to the thirteenth Dalai Lamas. [TIN Ref 58(VF)]

Book I: A Brief Summary Explanation of the Announcement on the History of Tibet

Reference Material No.1 on the explanation of the propagation of patriotic education in the monasteries throughout the TAR.

[Published by:] Governing Office For the Propagation of Patriotic Education In All Monasteries Throughout The TAR, June 1996

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Chapter Eleven [pp 41-44]

The Central Government of the Qing Dynasty held the authority to grant recognition to the successive reincarnations of the Dalai Lamas and the prerogative to preside over the enthronement ceremonies

When the 8th Dalai Lama passed away in 1804, the Qing Emperor, Cha Qing, appointed Jedrung Huthok Thu as the Regent of the Tibet region, and entrusted him with the responsibility of searching for the next incarnation of the Dalai Lama.

When a possible reincarnation was discovered in Kham area at Dan Khog [*'Idan khog*] in 1808, a delegation, comprising of the Regent, four cabinet ministers, the 7th Panchen Lama, and representatives from the three great Gelugpa monasteries, was despatched to investigate. They examined the child thoroughly and were so impressed by his wondrous qualities that the delegation unanimously confirmed him as the true reincarnation. They requested the resident Amban to submit a petition to the Great Emperor for permission to forego the procedure of "shaking the Golden Urn".

When the Qing Emperor Cha Qing examined the petition from the Amban in Tibet, he decreed that the shaking of the Golden Urn was unnecessary, and ordered General Te Ching Ah, military commander of Chengdu, to go to Tibet to announce his decision. Later Doring Jun Wang and some other delegates were also sent to Tibet to "oversee" the enthronement ceremony and to authorise the Dalai Lama to travel in the yellow palanquin and the right to use the golden seal of the previous Dalai Lama. The enthronement of the reincarnation the 9th Dalai Lama then took place in the Potala Palace on the 22nd day of the ninth month in 1808. The Dalai Lama was presented with ten thousand Chinese silver dollars, as a gift from the Emperor.

Thus, the recognition of the 9th Dalai Lama, enthronement, and the decision not to take recourse to "shaking the Golden Urn" were all carried out and proclaimed with the approval of the Emperor. The recognition of the Panchen Lama and other high lamas such as the Ho Thog Thus in Tibet were similarly accepted only after obtaining the approval of the Emperor. The reason for making an exception to the "Golden Urn" rule in the case of the 9th Dalai Lama was made in view of his exceptional and "amazing

signs and authenticity".

In 1815, the 9th Dalai Lama died suddenly, aged 11. When a possible incarnation of the Dalai Lama was found in Lithang, Kham, Demo Hothog Thu, the Regent of Tibet, and some local government leaders requested the Emperor, through the Amban in Tibet, Yue Ning, to recognise the boy in the same manner as the 9th Dalai Lama, without having to resort to the "shaking the Golden Urn".

Emperor Cha Qing admonished the Amban severely and ordered that the precedent of "shaking the Golden Urn" established by Emperor Qian Long must be continued. He ordered that no one was allowed to tamper with the system thoughtlessly.

Thereupon, the Regent then found two other possible child reincarnations. On the order of the Emperor Tao Kong in 1822, three possible incarnations of the Dalai Lama were invited to the Tsuglakhang in Lhasa, where the Golden Urn was used. The name of the child that emerged was the child born in Lithang, who was then recognised as the 10th Dalai Lama, Tsultrim Gyatso.

The next reincarnations of the Dalai Lama were Khedup Gyatso, recognised in 1842 as the 11th Dalai Lama, and Trinley Gyatso, recognised in 1848 as the 12th Dalai Lama, both of whom gained recognition from among three candidates through the process of shaking the "Golden Urn" as laid down in the 29 Articles of Governance and approved by the Emperor.

When the 12th Dalai Lama passed away, the local government of Tibetan organised a search party to look for the next reincarnation. In 1876, they found a boy in Dagpo (now Lhokha Nang Dzong) who manifested such "wondrous signs and qualities" that everyone unanimously believed him to be the real reincarnation. Although two other candidates were also discovered, they were considered lacking in the "wondrous signs and qualities" so that every member of the search party assumed that they could not be the genuine reincarnation of the Dalai Lama.

Under such circumstances, the 8th

Panchen Lama Tenpai Wangchuk, the Regent and representatives from Sera, Drepung and Ganden, Tashilhunpo monastery, and cabinet officials, both lay and ecclesiastical, unanimously requested Emperor Kong Shu, through the resident Amban Song Kue, to grant his approval to confirm the child from Dagpo as being the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama, without having to take recourse to "shaking the Golden Urn".

After receiving the Emperor's approval stating, "the child may be recognised as the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama without the need to shake the Golden Urn", the child from Dagpo was confirmed as the 13th Dalai Lama.

From the 9th to the 13th Dalai Lamas, after the reincarnations were recognised and confirmed through the grant of an edict by the Qing Emperors, a grand ceremony used to be held in Lhasa to proclaim the decision.

During the ceremony, the Resident Amban had to come to the front to proclaim the Emperor's edict and the reincarnate Dalai Lama had to face the edict on his knees while the Regent, Tutors, and the lay and ecclesiastical leaders of the local government of Tibet ranged behind the reincarnate Dalai Lama, all on their knees.

After the edict was proclaimed by the Amban, the reincarnate Dalai Lama had to face east and make three prostrations as a mark of gratitude [*'gtang rag*] to the Qing Emperor. This clearly showed the supreme and peerless status of the Emperor and the Dalai Lama as a subject of the Emperor.

In short, the confirmation of recognition of the Dalai Lama's reincarnation, the holding of the enthronement ceremony, the right to use the golden seal and the yellow palanquin, and the decision to appoint suitable tutors and so on required the prior approval of the Emperor. Only when the Emperor's approval arrived could such decisions be confirmed. These are decisions recorded clearly in writing by the government of the Qing Emperors as well as being a legal procedure respected and practised by the local government of Tibet.

Document 4: Patriotic Education Book II

The following is a translation of the contents page extracts translated here discuss at some length "splittism", the Dalai Lama, his purported relationship with Shoko Asahara of the Aum Shinrikyu sect, the policy of religious freedom, foreign involvement in Tibet, and, briefly, the control of monks and nuns in the monasteries. [TIN Ref 59(VF)]

Book II: A Brief Explanation of the Propagation of Opposition to Splittism

Reference Material No.2 on the explanation of the propagation of patriotic education in the monasteries throughout the TAR.

[Published by:] Government Office for the Propagation of Patriotic Education in All Monasteries Throughout the TAR, June 1996

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Intensifying infiltration inside the TAR and plotting to cause disturbances; sabotaging the work of finding the reincarnation of the 11th Panchen Lama; and encouraging threatening and intimidating behaviour

With the introduction of our 'Open Door' policy and pursuing a policy of leniency in allowing free and unrestricted travel to the Tibetans in exile, the Dalai clique had

started to intensify their efforts to encourage infiltration within the Tibet region of the China. Their splittist activities are not only aimed at international-

ising the Tibetan issue, but also a desperate reaction to the setbacks experienced on various fronts and the failure of their protracted splittist activities.

By taking for granted that they can exploit the religious faith and nationalism [*mi rigs kyi brise gdung*] of the people, they have started making incessant and intensive efforts to sow the "fear of deities" in the minds of people whilst popularising religion.

Under the guidance of westerners, a large number of ranking and important religious leaders have been sent into Tibet by implementing their policy of "gaining control of one monastic community is equal to occupying one area of China". Thus, by relying on the power and influence of the deities, they have engaged in mass deception by using "religion" to further their nefarious "political" aims.

In accordance with their original plot, they are trying to convert the people step by step from religious believers to political believers. In every religious discourse, the Dalai gives primacy to the so called "Tibetan independence" issue which is preposterous and highly deceptive. This is a cunning misrepresentation of the teachings of the Buddha and a blatant act of carrying a religious banner to score political points. In essence, this is a total contradiction of Buddhism and a betrayal of Lord Buddha. As such, the Dalai's actions are totally contradictory to the basic codes of conduct applicable to a Buddhist.

By expanding their network of underground organisations, the splittists are infiltrating the farming and nomadic areas to step up their splittist activities. They are also infiltrating our Party and government offices by sending letters that incite insurrection and make threats. Moreover, by establishing schools they are extending their splittist claws to snatch from us our younger generation as well as future generations.

They are planning to seize us and also the next generation by extending their separatist claws to ensnare the younger generation, and have been setting up schools with this aim. Through the distribution of literature they are trying to incite rebellion.

The Dalai clique has, whilst stepping up political infiltration, also plotted and incited disturbances in parts of Tibet. All the disturbances and subversive activities that took place in Lhasa between September 1987 and March 1989 were instigated by the Dalai clique and the subversive elements sent back into Tibet.

In a BBC programme on 19 January 1990, the Dalai made the irresponsible and threatening statement, "Unless the Beijing Government begins discussions

about the proposals for Tibetan Autonomous Region within one year, our stance of co-operation with China will be forced to undergo a change because a large number of Tibetan youth favour of using violence."

Again on 4 April 1991, on the Tibetan programme of the VOA the Dalai urged: "Even greater efforts must be made to strengthen and support the struggle for Tibetan independence."

On 10 October 1991, the Dalai once again made the following inflammatory statement on the Tibetan programme of the VOA: "The current influx of large numbers of Chinese into Tibet has become a critical issue affecting peace and stability in Tibetan society, and poses a much greater risk of inciting further turmoil and disturbances."

In the beginning of 1995, the Dalai clique, trying to repeat a hackneyed trick in new clothes, instigated a group of Tibetans abroad to organise a so called "Peace March to Tibet" as a plot to send people inside Tibet to carry out various subversive activities with the hope of creating a negative political climate both and outside China. However, since such a march would have been highly unpopular, the so called "Peace March to Tibet" had to be abandoned in chaos as soon as it had begun.

After suffering a series of setbacks in terms of sending infiltrators, provoking disturbances and organising the so called "Peace March to Tibet", the Dalai clique desperately attempted to sabotage the work of the finding the reincarnation of the 10th Panchen Lama.

The Dalai, with evil intentions and determination to exploit the issue of the reincarnation of the Panchen, chose to ignore established religious practices and historical traditions by making the brazen claim "The entire responsibility of recognising the next reincarnation of the Panchen is on my shoulders." He thus revealed himself as an enemy of the People's Republic of China and demanded through Chadel [Rinpoche] that the child of his choice be recognised as the true reincarnation without having to take recourse to the shaking of the "Golden Urn."

When this conspiracy failed, the Dalai, once again, with great impatience made the unilateral declaration abroad on 14 May 1995, "The child that I have chosen is the actual "reincarnation of the Panchen."

As a matter of fact, the Dalai has no right to declare the recognition of the reincarnation of the Panchen. Historically,

since 1792, when the central government of China under the Qing dynasty rule introduced the formula of "shaking of the Golden Urn" to determine the reincarnations of high lamas and tulkus, to rectify the weaknesses in the system of recognising reincarnations. The procedure became established and ever since, all the reincarnations of high and important lamas and tulkus were determined by "shaking the Golden Urn" and finally, reporting the outcome to the Emperor as required. This procedure had become established tradition over a period of over 200 years.

After the demise of the 10th Panchen Rinpoche, the State Council passed a five-point Resolution governing the search and recognition of the Panchen's reincarnation; and the concerned authorities carried out the search in accordance with established religious practice and historical tradition.

The fact that the Dalai had chosen to announce a so called "Reincarnation" in contravention of established religious practice and historical traditions, without waiting for the decision and announcement of the Search Committee for the Reincarnation, disregarding the proper conduct of relevant religious procedures; and without waiting for the outcome of shaking the Golden Urn in front of the image of the Buddha, betrays the fact that he had never regarded the search and recognition of the reincarnation of the Panchen as a religious issue. On the contrary, he had considered it a political issue and a political tool for challenging the authority of the Party and the central government.

His apparent show of concern about the Panchen's reincarnation was false. The fact of the matter is that the Dalai had placed obstacles and sabotaged the search for the reincarnation. Historically speaking, did the Dalai show any concern when the 9th Panchen was forced to leave the Tashi Lhunpo monastery?

Although the 10th Panchen was recognised and approved by the central government of China, he was initially refused any recognition by the Dalai and the local government of Tibet on the pretext that the central government of China at that time, had given approval for recognition and enthronement without having to resort to the "Golden Urn" test.

Later they placed many obstacles for the Panchen to come to Tibet, and not only was the Panchen denigrated but also evil plots hatched to cause him grievous harm. Not until after the battle at Chamdo did the 10th Panchen gain acceptance.

Where was the Dalai's concern then?

The Dalai, who has been opposing the motherland in the disguise of a religious figure to mount a protracted splittist campaign, is diametrically different from the 10th Panchen Rinpoche on the crucial test of loyalty and patriotism. Therefore, someone like the Dalai who is opposed to the motherland and the people, and who has no love or concern for the Panchen Rinpoche, can never hope or expect to enjoy the right of recognising and announcing the reincarnation of a great patriot like the 10th Panchen.

The ulterior motive for the unilateral declaration of the so-called "Reincarnation of the Panchen" was to undermine the authority and prestige of the central government of China in respect of granting recognition to the reincarnation of the Panchen. The ultimate aims are to challenge us in gaining control over the minds of the people, winning over the masses, winning over the authority of the leadership of the monastic communities, for the sake of which they were plotting to provoke disturbances and splitting the motherland. The "Reincarnation" publicly announced by the Dalai is illegal and ineffective.

On 29 November 1995, after completing the relevant religious rituals meticulously and resorting to the Golden Urn, the reincarnation of the 10th Panchen Rinpoche was resolved, and on the very

same day, the State Council granted him approval to exercise the right to be known as the 11th Panchen Lama. This marked the successful conclusion of the task of searching and recognising the reincarnation of the 10th Panchen Rinpoche and the public denouement of the Dalai's attempts to place obstacles and splittist activities.

In the struggle of searching and recognising the reincarnation of the 11th Panchen Rinpoche, the clear stand and effective planning of the central government has caused the Dalai to lose face completely and left him empty handed. This has helped in giving a major fillip to the struggle in opposing splittist elements in our region.

As the proverb goes, "Although the tree wishes to remain still, the wind wouldn't let it be", the Dalai clique, in spite of suffering a series of defeats, refuse to cease their splittist activities; they have rather decided to escalate their mad ambitions.

From this year onwards, two clear characteristics of the splittists are becoming evident. One is the resort to violence to cause damage and destruction which is a sign that they are nearing the end of their road. The second is using the monastic communities as bases to use the monks to incite upheavals and disturbances in collusion with the reactionary followers of the Dalai.

On 6 May when police and staff from the check post and Lhasa City Nationalities and Religious Affairs Bureau went to Ganden monastery to confiscate reactionary propaganda materials and photographs of the Dalai, the monks surrounded them, shouting reactionary slogans and beating them and destroying the check-post. This is a clear example of the political nature of these upheavals.

From the above factual accounts, it is abundantly clear that the Dalai is a conspirator, the chief of splittist movement aspiring for Tibetan independence, the unequivocal tool of the western forces inimical towards China, the main source of all disturbances in Tibetan society, and the biggest stumbling block to the establishment of normal religious discipline in Tibetan Buddhism.

In case, any monastery were to collude with or support the activities of the Dalai clique in their attempts to split the motherland or destabilise society, it would be like risking the historical place of their monasteries in a gambling stake. That is because the monasteries are like any other social organisation in our country, and if anyone chooses to embrace the reactionary cause of opposing the Central Communist Party and the Central Government, they cannot expect to receive either recognition and protection or the normal status of a legitimate organisation.

[Extract from Book II, page 88ff]

Third: There is nothing but defeat in store for the splittist activities launched by the Dalai clique

1. To split the motherland is against the objective law of historical development

Tibet had become a part of the motherland since the rule of the Yuan Dynasty. From then onwards all successive Central Governments exercised sovereign control over Tibet and resorted to various means to supervise Tibet's local affairs.

Since the rule of the Yuan Dynasty, either a special department was set up in the Central Government for administering Tibet's local political and military affairs, or the Central Government exercised direct control over Tibetan affairs. The Central Government had the following rights over the leaders of the leaders of Local Government of Tibet- their appointment and dismissal as well as their rewards and punishments.

In the proclamation "The 29 Article Imperial Ordinance" by the Qing Emperor, it was decided that the Central

Government of China would, not only appoint Kalons of the Kashag Office and Depons [regimental commander] of the Army but also give them annuities.

The Central Government administered Tibetan Buddhism, as before, and when appointing the Heads of major religious sects, their status became legitimate only after a decree was granted by the Central Government. The Sakya sect, which gained great fame in our history, had received the support and an Imperial Edict from the Yuan Dynasty. Not only were the "Chos rje rnam gsum" [The Three Religious Masters?] and "wang-nga" [persons] who attained great fame in Tibet's religious history, had all received Imperial Edicts from the Ming Dynasty.

Even the title of the Dalai Lama which has continued to the present was offered by Emperor Hrun Te (hrun kres) of the Qing Dynasty. Trang Wu Trung Xin [krang wu krung shing] the Chairman of the Commission for Mongolian and

Tibetan Affairs under the Guomindang Government, had personally attended the enthronement ceremony of the 14th Dalai Lama.

According to the Central Government's resolution, revenue was collected by the Central Government and the Local Government of Tibet also had an obligation to pay the revenue. When the Tax Collectors of the Central Government travelled to Tibet, they had to be provided with runners to collect taxes [khral a'ul] and supply of fresh horses at various points between Tibet and the Motherland guaranteed.

The Central Government made unified arrangements to safeguard the Tibet region, and the local Tibetan Government also took responsibility for the safety of the borderland under the leadership of the Central Government. All the foreign affairs of the Tibet region were decided by the Central Government.

It was the Central Government who

settled the power struggle within the ruling classes, or in the event of inter-sectarian and/or intra-sect conflicts in the Tibet region, and so on. Thus it is self-evident from the above facts that Tibet is an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China.

Since the later period of the Qing Dynasty, the imperialists resorted to various means to realise their evil ambitions of forcibly occupy Tibet, the exceptional region of the People's Republic of China. A handful of pro-imperialist people nurtured in Tibet, betrayed their own country and nationality for selfish interests by colluding with the imperialist forces to whip up the criminal and splittist idea of "Tibetan independence".

However, even when China was very weak, Tibet could never be separated from her. The Tibetan people loved the motherland very much and wholeheartedly wished the motherland great prosperity so that the people could live in peace and contentment.

In 1951 the central government of the People's Republic of China and the local government of Tibet signed "the Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" and with the support of the peoples of various nationalities of the motherland, the Tibetan people were finally able to cut the bonds foisted upon them by the imperialists and join the people of the motherland to march forward on the wide road of prosperity.

It is the inevitable result of the march of history that Tibet had become an inalienable part of the motherland and the objective reality of the Tibetan nationality being one of the nationalities among the Great Family of Nationalities of the motherland is also the culmination of the fruition of the historical progress of China for over a thousand years.

The evil hope and ambition of the Dalai clique to split the motherland and reverse the facts of history is something that is impossible to achieve. It is something that will never be approved by the entire 1,200,000,000 people of China or the 56 nationalities of China, including the Tibetan nationals themselves.

2. The Dalai's disguise as a "Religious Leader" can never deceive the Tibetan people and the people of the world who love peace and want to see the truth prevail

The main method of splitting the motherland used by the Dalai clique is to utilise Dalai's historical status and influence in Tibetan Buddhism for their

splittist activities.

As a result of the Dalai's propaganda, denigration of the motherland and misleading international opinion by posing as a "Religious Leader" and "Lama of Kindness and Compassion", some people, ignorant about the facts, have shown their solidarity with his splittist activities.

At the same time the Dalai clique are expanding their splittist activities in our region's monasteries and farming and pastoral areas by using every possible means.

As we know, religion is a transcendental phenomenon and a religious person is someone who has "transcended the three realms and five elements" and has renounced worldly affairs after realising the unwholesome and immoral nature of worldly existence.

Shakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, voluntarily renounced his kingdom to seek enlightenment. The essence of religion is to free all sentient beings from suffering and to work for their happiness. However, the Dalai clique not only contradicts the principle of the separation of religion and politics as espoused by Lord Buddha, but also violates the fundamental principles of religion, by fabricating rumours to deceive people and to cause disturbances. Therefore, is there even a whiff of scent as a religious leader about him?

Whilst promoting splittist activities by holding aloft the banner of religion, the Dalai clique resorts to any and every available means to further their aims, both within Tibet and internationally. In this respect, a brief exposition of the relationship between the Dalai and the leader of the Japanese Cult, the Aum Religious Sect, would enable the people to understand the facts better.

In March 1995 there was a deadly poison attack in a subway of Tokyo [*tung cing*] city, Japan, which left 12 people dead and 5,500 people injured, to the shock of the people around the world.

The Japanese Security services carried out a detailed investigation of the incident exploring every possible source, and discovered that it was a deliberate and serious case of poisoning. They found out that responsibility for committing this hideous crime lay with a hitherto unknown secretive religious sect called the Aum Truth Cult. [*Aum Shinrikyu*].

The Japanese Security also exposed the fact that members of this religious group were also responsible for the "Matsumoto Sarin Case" in Matsumoto city of Nagano prefecture [*khram ya'l rdzong*] in June

1994 in which 7 people died and 580 people were injured.

It goes without saying that after the tragic incident, the people wanted to find out the true nature of the Aum religious sect.

According to Japanese press releases, the Aum religious organisation is a cult group with 35 thousand registered members and 5,000 devotees. The Head of this religious group Asahara Shoko [*maa'yon khang Hong*] original name was Matumoto Chizuo [*song pan kre cin phu*].

He was born the son of a poor family of straw mattress weaver in Kongo village, Yashiro county [Kumamoto prefecture] [Tibetan: badao, Jiutru island]. He had attended a blind school [*long ba'l slob grar*] during his years. Later he studied acupuncture and ran a pharmacy. Once, he was imprisoned after patients reported him for marketing fake medicine. In February 1982 he organised a "Spirit Group" which had about ten members, attracting a certain number of youths.

In 1986 Asahara Shoko went to India for "meditation" and during his stay there he colluded with the Dalai in many ways. After his return to Japan he declared himself to be a disciple of the Dalai and claimed to have "attained nirvana through enlightenment in the Himalayan mountains." The following year he changed the name of his "Aum Spirit Group" to "Aum religion".

Just like other cult leaders, Asahara Shoko toured around spreading lies away all the time. He made claims like "the greatest person of this century working for the benefit of sentient beings"; being "able to fly in the sky, know what others are thinking and prophesise by using the power of his meditation," etc.

He publicised and circulated "a prophecy" which claimed that "the world was nearing the end" and "the final World War" and so on which terrified many people. Those devotees of the Aum religion, who were duped and taken in by Asahara Shoko, had to do meditations on half empty stomachs and suffering from hunger. Under false pretences Asahara Shoko extorted lots of "money and goods" from his devotees. He made his followers practise his cult religion unconditionally. Whoever quit this religion or violated its rules was severely punished, either by being starved or imprisoned.

In 1990, the self-proclaimed "liberated from the world" Asahara Shoko lead a group of 24 followers and campaigned vigorously at huge expense to be elected as MPs to the Diet. (No one got elected eventually) He then founded the "Secret

State of the Sun", which combined the system of religious and secular authority vested in himself with the evil intention of representing the Japanese State.

Asahara Shoko, a complete brute, had made and possessed poison gas, bacteriological weapons, chemical weapons, tear bombs and various guns. He carried out all sorts of terrorist activities and fought against the Japanese state and society by relying on armed force and by claiming "it's a contribution if one kills a human being as it is a beneficial act."

The fact that needed to be considered is that this infamous terrorist had a very close relationship with the Dalai who claims to be a "Religious Leader" and a "Champion of Peace." On 18 September last year, Germany's weekly magazine "Duonci" published an article under the title "Not Without Smell and Stain" in which the close relationship between the Dalai and Asahara Shoko was revealed. This article said that the Dalai and Asahara Shoko had met five times, and the first meeting was in 1987 in India. Later the Dalai wrote two letters of recommendation for Asahara Shoko. The Dalai and his clique recognised Asahara Shoko and his Aum religion as a developer of Tibetan Buddhism's Great Vehicle, and Asahara Shoko himself as "an outstanding religious master" and "an experienced mystic." They also praised "the Aum religion for promoting social benefits by undertaking all sorts of religious and social work, for instance using the essence of Buddhism and practising Yoga".

In fact, this so-called Aum religion has a baffling name (some say it's the Aum character of written Tibetan), it purportedly means to purify oneself through yoga practice which indeed is preposterous. After all it is just a cult religion carrying out terrorism to harm society. It is absolutely against Tibetan Buddhism's Great Vehicle teaching of wishing that all the sentient beings have happiness, accumulate huge merit and practice compassion. Therefore what the Dalai clique said about Aum religion's "promoting social benefits" was a preposterous lie and was against the basic essence of Buddhism.

Furthermore, the Dalai enhanced the status of the Aum religion by writing letters recommending it and giving it various certificates, so that in August 1989 the Tokyo Government gave Aum the status of a socially beneficial organisation and granted tax concessions so that Asahara Shoko was able to make more money to produce poison gas and to carry

out his terrorist acts.

Asahara Shoko does not hesitate to tell of his special relationship with the Dalai. He claims to be a disciple of the Dalai and not only told people how the Dalai personally initiated him into the Great Vehicle and even said that he was instructed by the Dalai to reform Buddhism in Japan. Asahara Shoko publicised his photos with the Dalai and letters from the Dalai to lure new devotees in Japan. Due to Dalai's support, the swindler Asahara Shoko managed to become the leader of a religious association in just a few years. At the same time his religious association became very ambitious and ended with the deadly poison gas attack in Tokyo's subway.

It was not that the Dalai didn't gain anything from supporting Asahara Shoko and Aum. To show his gratitude, Asahara Shoko made financial contributions to the Dalai Clique living in exile in India. In his recommendation letter dated 26th May 1989 the Dalai wrote, "The Aum religious association has made generous donations to all of us Buddhists in exile." The Dalai thought highly of Asahara Shoko and even after the poison gas attack in Tokyo's subway he still considered Asahara Shoko a friend. Obviously, the Dalai was funded by him in carrying out splittist activities and sabotaging the friendship and solidarity of the nationalities.

It is clear to everybody that the Dalai is a politician in clerical garb living in exile. He pretends to be "the spokesman of the Tibetan people's freedom" but he does not acknowledge the fact that the Tibetan people live and work in peace and contentment under the leadership of the Party and the central government. He does not accept the reality of the great social development that has taken place in Tibet. In recent years the Dalai has appeared on international news interviews now and then, and visited many countries where he gave speeches in order to receive sympathy and support for "Tibet's independence". At the same time he holds high the religious and "human rights" banner to plot and escalate disturbances in our region through his splittist activities.

On the 14 May last year the Dalai arbitrarily announced the "reincarnation of the Panchen" to sabotage the peace and stability of Tibet and to mislead Tibetan Buddhism on the wrong path. However, the monks, nuns and lay people of Tibet once again have shown their determination to fight against the Dalai's conspiracy and thwarted his intention to harm Tibet and undermine religion.

Just as Asahara Shoko made poison and

spread it to sabotage society under the cover of religion, so does the Dalai carry out activities to split the motherland under the name of the religious leadership. From the ways the Dalai clique carries out their conspiracies and evil doings of all sorts, it is clear that he and his followers have colluded with the so-called religious leader Asahara Shoko.

Now that Asahara Shoko has become a prisoner and Aum religion has also ceased to exist, we are waiting to see what fate befalls the Dalai clique.

Those who were deceived for a while and showed devotion to the Dalai will now ask themselves the question of whether or not the Dalai is a "religious leader".

The Dalai clique will never achieve their goal by using religion to carry out splittist activities because both the lay people and the ecclesiastical community bears deep respect for the Party's policy of religious freedom. Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, especially after the 3rd plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, according to the Party's religious policy and relevant law, the Regional Party Committee and the central government have fully implemented the Party's policy of religious freedom and had carried out a lot of practical work.

As the policy has been implemented comprehensively, the religious belief of the people is respected and their everyday religious activities are safeguarded by law. Normal religious activities and rites of different sects of Tibetan Buddhism have been secured, and the religious organisations in Tibet have been allowed to organise their own religious activities.

In keeping with religious and historical traditions, after the demise of important and ranking lamas and tulkus, the system of searching and recognising their reincarnations has been maintained.

To protect the right of everyday religious practice for the vast numbers of devotees, the central government had successively allocated a special fund of 2.16 billion RMB for the reconstruction and opening of over 1,700 monasteries and temples so that now in Tibet there are 46,000 monks and nuns. Nobody obstructs the devotees from going on pilgrimage and from practising their religious activities. Buddhist associations have been formed in seven prefectures and cities in our region. At the same time, schools of Tibetan Buddhism in the TAR and a Higher Tibetan Buddhist Studies Institute in Beijing have been established, where more than 400 people are engaged in study.

In reality, there is religious freedom in Tibet without any doubt, and religious rites, people's religious beliefs and religious affiliations are highly respected as well as fulfilling the essentials for the devotees' religious practice. Along with the progress of Tibetan society, Tibetan Buddhism is also changing and it must continuously adapt to the socialist society. In order to facilitate such adaptation we have taken some measures and provided guidance by framing rules and regulations for managing religious sites, fixing the number of monks in monasteries and refining the procedure of recognising the reincarnations of Lamas, etc.

We must sharpen our vigilance as the Dalai is using religion to infiltrate politics, and whoever or whatever the organisation, no one has any special rights to violate the country's Constitution but are obligated to ensure infiltration with determination by using every possible means. In accordance with the law we have strengthened the administrative work of the religious affairs so that the religious activities and rites being carried out were within the convention of the Constitution, law, regulations and policy.

Since we need to deal seriously with such crimes as inciting the masses to cause disturbances in the name of religion, of sabotaging the stability of society, the unity of the motherland and the friendship and solidarity of nationalities, in accordance with the provisions of law, we have punctured the arrogance of the splittists by passing severe sentences on the main culprits.

We should enhance our work on establishing Democratic Management Committees in the monasteries so that the authority of the monasteries lies firmly in the hands of those monks and nuns who support the Party's leadership, who abide by the law and behave themselves, and who are patriotic religious people. We must overcome those weaknesses of not daring to administer religious affairs, of disliking administrative work and of not allowing it to be administered.

Monasteries must never be allowed to become bases for the Dalai to carry out his splittist activities. A few monks and nuns have violated religious disciplines and become principle culprits in causing disturbances by carrying out splittist activities. These things should never happen again, as it's against the essence of religion and the law does not allow it.

We must deal seriously with those monasteries which have a history of direct involvement in numerous splittist activities, and where, in spite of reforms and

reorganisations over a period of time, no improvement has occurred. We must put more effort into educating people in religious circles about politics and law, so that they might carry forward the patriotic spirit of the late 10th Panchen and become patriotic religious people who study religion hard and abide by the law with good behaviour. Monasteries should become places where everyday religious activities and rites are carried out and where Tibetan Buddhism culture is inherited and promoted.

In short, the large mass of devotees enjoy and wholeheartedly appreciate our implementation of the policy of religious freedom. By taking serious measures we have struck telling blows to the Dalai's campaign of political infiltration. Tibetan Buddhism is now more and more adapting to socialism and not the other way around following the Dalai's splittist activities. Concurrent with the exposition of the Dalai's naked political ambitions to split the Motherland, his disguise of "religious leader" is continually wearing thin, and those masses of devotees and honest people around the world who were once deceived have started to realise the truth.

Therefore although politically the Dalai wants to split the motherland and wants to oppose the Party and the people, the improper religious reverence that he currently enjoys is certain to change completely. With each passing day the people are beginning to see the Dalai's ulterior motive of putting on the disguise of "Religious Leader" to further his political ambition of restoring his special authority over a serf system in which he could enjoy religious and political authority by using "religion" for "political" goals. The more the Dalai persists with his evil ways by following the wrong path of splitting the motherland, the more he distances himself from the essence of religion, and the disappointed religious devotees will eventually forsake him; and he will certainly become isolated. Therefore, he is certain to become not only an infamous criminal for splitting the motherland and sabotaging the friendship and solidarity of the nationalities, but also become a criminal in religious circles as one who sabotaged the successful continuity and development of Tibetan Buddhism.

3. Whoever betrays the Interests of the motherland and the people, and becomes a tool of the international forces opposed to China, will never come to a good end

After the big changes in Russia and

Eastern Europe which ended the period of Cold War, there have been numerous nationality conflicts and religious disputes in many of countries and regions. Nationality and religious issues have caused social disturbances and escalated the process of change in the political situation. Conflicts between the nationalities have strengthened the potential risk for sabotaging and splitting a country.

Under the circumstances it is very clear that the international hostile forces opposed to China are plotting to subvert our State by resorting to the issues of nationality [ethnicity] and religion. To hinder the growing strength of China and the development of the Chinese nation, the Dalai clique has become their tool of convenience. They use the so-called "Tibet issue" as their means of putting pressure on our State and fully supporting the Dalai clique to split the motherland.

Without any concern about the fundamental interests of the country and nationality, the Dalai clique rushed to throw themselves into the laps of hostile Western forces and for a while became quite ambitious and in collusion with each other.

In recent years, to oppose the country and the nationality, the Dalai has successively carried out a lot of propaganda and despicable acts during good will visits abroad. The reality of history has proved on numerous occasions that those who rely on foreign countries to adopt a hostile attitude towards one's own country and nationality, the consequences will never be desirable. Foreign forces are not reliable at all; they are trying to help the Dalai clique gain "Tibet's independence" for their own basic self-interests and when the Dalai clique becomes useless for them, then they will mercilessly abandon their out-dated tool. At that time it will be far too late for regret. We are not in indulging ourselves in reckless exaggeration.

Up until now there hasn't been a single country or a government which formally supports the Dalai's call for "Independent Tibet" or given official recognition to the "Government in Exile". When talking about some foreign governments, including Clinton, the President of America, of pressurising China's economy, didn't the Dalai complain "They have broken the Tibetan people's hearts" and that "He is not a reliable person"?

To live dependant upon others is a bad thing to do, and there's no good prospect for those relying on foreign forces. After a long period of research, our country and our great Party discovered a perfect path

to speed up social development and the country's development and that is - the Party's basic line of "One Fundamental Goal and Two Critical Points" and the great plan envisaged by comrade Deng Xiaoping who was the architect of socialist modernisation.

If we persevere and follow the Party's basic line unswervingly, then by the middle of the next century we will be able to achieve modernisation and become one of the moderately developed countries.

In light of our developing and prosperous China with its huge market and great influence on international affairs, it is possible that some western countries will, for the sake of their own self-interest, change their policies towards China and then the Dalai clique will be isolated.

We are reminding and advising the Dalai Clique that like the proverbial "forgetting the bridge after crossing the river", they should have a realistic point of view and abandon their hopeless, splitist activities and emerge out from the morass of splitist mentality which only helps to deceive oneself and others, and consider well the fate of traitors in the history of mankind.

4. As it is against the Chinese nation's interests for the Dalai to betray the nation and split the motherland, the whole of the Chinese people, including the people of Tibet, will resolutely oppose him

The most important and fundamental interests of the Chinese nation are to be able to exercise sovereign rights and territorial integrity of the country, and if these are not achieved then there's no other interests to discuss. We can explain how Tibet's situation is related to the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation in the following two aspects:

First, from the point of view of overall national strategy, Tibet's security is connected to the security and sovereignty of the whole country. Tibet's stability and development are connected to the whole country's stability and development. Secondly, Tibet's security, stability and development can only be achieved in the big family of the motherland. All the Chinese people want to take historical responsibility, spontaneously safeguard the unity, sovereignty, stability and development which are the basic interests of the country.

It is an honourable tradition of the Chinese nation to safeguard the unity of the motherland. Emperor Lhazong said:

"How could an Emperor dare to lose an inch of the ancestor's land by neglecting this territory gained by the Chinese subjects through difficult struggles." Even during times when China was very weak with external and internal difficulties, the then Baiyang Government still resisted the pressures of the imperialists and did not ratify the "Simla Agreement" which was damaging to the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In the recent and modern Chinese history, there have been lots of outstanding personages who have died on battlefields with great courage to guard against foreign invasion and to safeguard sovereignty. In the Battle of Lungthur Pass, 1888 and in the Battle of Gyantse, 1904, the Tibetan people fought heroically against the British invaders and made admirable contributions to safeguard the unity of the motherland and to guard against invasion.

As soon as new China was born, Mao Zedong pointed out that it is better to enter Tibet earlier than later. When the People's Liberation Army entered Tibet, the middle-headed reactionary army was defeated and dispersed immediately, and the "17 Point Agreement" was signed. Then Tibet's peaceful liberation was declared and this drove out the imperialist forces.

Deng Xiaoping, the great architect of the reform and opening-up policy hit the nail on the head by pointing out that "there is nothing to compromise about the fundamental issue of sovereignty, and although some people want to split Tibet [from China], but I don't see that they have this capability."

From a long-term perspective, comrade Jiang Zemin pointed out, "We will never allow Tibet to be split from the motherland and will also never allow Tibet to remain backward for a long time. Only socialism can save and develop China and only socialism can save and develop Tibet". Confronting 1.2 billion Chinese people's iron-like determination to safeguard the unity of the motherland, a few people like the Dalai, etc. will never achieve their dream of splitting Tibet from the motherland.

5. The new socialist relationship of the nationalities is firm and irrevocable

The friendship and solidarity of the nationalities is the foundation stone in safeguarding the unity of the country and in achieving social stability as well as the guarantee of all our achievements. Equality between the nationalities,

solidarity of the nationalities, and the co-prosperity of all the nationalities, are the fundamental policies of the Party in dealing with nationalities' affairs.

After Tibet's peaceful liberation there were earthshaking changes in the relations between the nationalities. At present the relations between the nationalities in Tibet are basically socialist equality, solidarity, mutual help and co-operation of the working class of various nationalities. The vast numbers of Tibetan people and the people of brotherly nationalities have full rights to administer the State's own nationality affairs. They jointly safeguard the unity of the motherland, work for Tibet's socialist construction and modernisation and the defence of the south-west frontier and commitment to the "Two Inseparables" principle.

As Tibet's reform and opening up progresses, as the market economy system gradually becomes more established, so is the solidarity of the nationalities continuously strengthened. The development of the socialist market economy will definitely break the stumbling block that stands between the nationalities and areas and the nationalities' "not communicating with one another" will certainly turn out to be a matter of history. The joint economic undertakings have built interdependent relations between nationalities by enjoying and risking together the interests of their nationalities. The nationalities' traditional production and their way of living are undergoing historical change. To learn from each other, for the different nationalities to show respect for each other, and to know that Chinese and minority [ethnic groups] nationalities are mutually inseparable, have now become the main elements of developing Tibet's socialist ideology. Under the conditions of the socialist market economy, the common economic life of different nationalities will turn out to be a strong economic link of the new socialist relations between the nationalities, and the yearning for the Chinese nation and the country to unite as one will grow stronger.

Tibet has the social infrastructure to oppose separation, to safeguard the unity of the motherland and the solidarity of the nationalities. They have emancipated over 3 million serfs and their descendants love the Party and socialism very much. They wholeheartedly follow the Party, rely on the motherland and endeavour to construct a socialist new Tibet.

The vast number of ethnic cadres from the local region, cadres of various other

nationalities who work in Tibet, and cadres of the armed forces who were nurtured by the Party, who subscribe to Marxist-Leninist ideology and who are armed with the theory of Deng Xiaoping, are the leaders in constructing Tibet's socialist modernisation, as well as being the leaders in unifying the nationalities. The vast number of personages of different nationalities and religions, from all walks of life, who united under the banner of socialism and patriotism and obtained a firm and clear-cut stand in the struggle against splittists are the Party's trustworthy friends.

The vast numbers of monks and nuns of Tibetan Buddhism who wholeheartedly support the Party's policy of religious freedom, love both the country and the religion, follow religious rules, study the

Dharma and have a firm stand in the struggle against splittists. Those monks and nuns who support and participate in splittist activities are very few. Tibet's teenagers and youths were born at the time of new China and were brought up under the red flag and brought up under the loving care of the Party and people. They have grown up educated in patriotism, collectivism and socialism. Above all, the thing that people all over the country have in common is the ideal of constructing socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is the ideological connection and base for consolidating and strengthening the friendship and solidarity of the nationalities.

By lying and cheating to people around the world, the Dalai is against our country, he is making the Tibetan issue an interna-

tional issue, he is relying on the hostile western forces to carry out his splittist activities, and is dreaming to restore the feudal serf system. It's time for him to wake up as the economy of the Motherland is growing, and the solidarity of the nationalities and all trades and professions are prospering like the ocean in summertime. As the Buddha said that the ocean of suffering is unlimited, it is better to return to the dry shore. We think it would be better for a Buddha's follower to accumulate merit by practising and introducing religion and be concerned about the welfare of sentient beings rather than carrying out splittist activities. If the Dalai continues to follow his wrong path of splitting the motherland then it will definitely end in complete defeat.

[Extract from Book II: Pages 125-128]

4. [We must] strengthen the control of monks and nuns in the monasteries in accordance with the law

The government and the Party undertake the responsibility of protecting normal religious activities in the monasteries. However, it seems clear that we cannot handle the work of the increase in the number of monasteries in the region. The number of monks and nuns has increased rapidly; some of whom have been coerced into the monasteries in order to increase the burden on the religious masses. The authority of the government has been ignored by some of the monasteries, and they continue to recruit young children, interfere in the livelihood and productivity of the masses, and even go so far as to interfere in the management of administration at the grassroots level.

It is clear that some monasteries have become bases for splittist activities of the Dalai clique, where a handful of criminal monks and nuns have become the chief provocateurs of disturbances and conflicts. These monks and nuns do not encourage the diligent study of Buddhism, they do not enhance Buddhism, they do not respect the law, and they do not set a good example to the religious masses in observing religious laws. Neither have they encouraged imbibing Buddha's teaching nor have they encouraged a good standard of moral behaviour. On the contrary, they have been instigating splittist activities of a political nature, which is contrary to their avowed aim of staying in a monastery.

Some of the monks and nuns have been

leading instigators of disturbances. The Dalai clique's policy is, "Holding on to one monastery is the equivalent to holding on to one area of the Communist Party of China". Therefore we must control the monasteries in accordance with the legal system, as resolved by the State Council, make regulations and rules, and take charge of the religious affairs. The numbers of monks and nuns allowed in the monasteries should be controlled. Any monks and nuns found in excess of the fixed limit should be turned away.

No new monasteries should be allowed to be built by those who haven't received prior approval. We must strongly impose these laws in order to maintain the discipline, livelihood, and production of the masses, and to maintain normal religious activities. Without strict application of the legal system it will be impossible to enforce these rules and regulations, and to maintain law and order.

Respect for the law must be shown by all people, organisations and religions in our country, in order to safeguard the unity of the nationalities, uphold the interests of the people, and to protect the unity of the nation. Therefore, in the monasteries, only those monks and nuns who are shown to be truly patriotic and law-abiding should hold positions of power, authority, and leadership.

Religious activities must be in accordance with the decisions passed by the Constitution and the law. It is forbidden

for religion to be used to harm the unification of the country; to oppose the leadership of the party or the socialist system; to harm the unity of the nationalities and to interfere with the development of production, educational work, judicial or political matters.

Those monks and nuns who have been found to be in support of the splittist faction must be given counselling, and any of those who do not reform must be dealt with severely, according to the law. All monks and nuns must make sure that their behaviour is up to the standard set by the Constitution and the law.

Monasteries must not coerce any person into becoming a monk or nun, especially those who are below the age of maturity. Money must not be taken from the masses by the monasteries on the pretext of religion, thereby creating an extra burden on the masses. It is expressly forbidden to revive the powers of the feudal system. The masses must never be instigated into causing disturbances, but the unity of the nation must come before everything else, for the benefit of the people of China. The banner of patriotism, co-operation, and love of religion must be raised high. Monasteries must ensure, through thorough examination, that they propagate lawful religious activities which are kept separate from politics, and regular discipline is maintained which is appropriate to a socialist society.

Document 5: Patriotic Education Book III

This book deals with various aspects of the legal system. Translations of the contents page and Chapters 1-3 are given here, dealing with the reasons why legal education needs to be given and why law must be implemented in the monasteries. There is also a basic outline of the PRC Constitution. A reasonably full outline of the Criminal Code is included (not provided here, as TIN's analysis of the amendments to the law made in 1997 is included as Appendix 2 in the Strike Hard Campaign section). [TIN Ref: 60(VF)]

Book III: A Brief Explanation of the Propagation of Knowledge about the Legal System

Reference Material No.3 on the Explanation of the propagation of Patriotic Education in the monasteries throughout the TAR

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Chapter 1

What is the purpose of promoting the educational programme on knowledge of the legal system in the monasteries?

The promotion of the educational programme on knowledge of the legal system among the general public of the various nationalities of the country, is a decision taken by the Central Committee of the Party, State Council, and the National People's Congress. Since 1985, in all the areas of our country, an educational drive to promote knowledge of the legal systems has been launched in the "First Five Year" and "Second Five Year" plans. The "Third Five Year Plan" objectives concerning the promotion of knowledge of the legal system is being carried out step by step. The Party and government offices, the armed forces, factory and mining enterprises, schools

(secondary, middle and primary), villages and nomadic areas have made detailed plans and arrangements for the study of the legal system in accordance with the main tasks of the Party and country. By providing ample material, financial and manpower resources, we have achieved good results in successfully strengthening the study and practice of the legal system, rule and regulations, etc, provided for by the Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

We have achieved outstanding results in the area of reforming and regulating conditions of work for many occupations, in accordance with the law. This is something obvious to everyone, both

nationally and internationally, and a matter of great pride and honour for the People's Republic of China. This is a new initiative taken under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party in speeding up the development of the legal system of the nation. This development accords with the prevailing situation of our country and the people, and a clear reflection of the unique qualities of our country's socialist system.

The propagation of the legal system among the general masses must be embraced voluntarily by all the citizens of the People's Republic of China irrespective of their nationality, age, party affiliations, sex, sectarian beliefs and skin

colour. The rights and duties are the focus of the drive to propagate education about the legal system and fundamental provisions guaranteed by the Constitution of our country.

"All the people have the right and freedom to voluntarily accept education." Therefore the monks and nuns of the monasteries who are citizens of the People's Republic of China must similarly voluntarily accept education about the legal system of the People's Republic of China.

The task of promoting education of the legal system among a broad range of monks and nuns in the monasteries is an important aspect of the overall work of intensifying the propagation of the knowledge of the legal system among the broad masses of the nationalities in our region as well as being a vital political duty. It has a very important significance for the success of carrying out the decisions of the Regional Party Committee and Regional people's government, to firmly implement and enforce the legal system in the monasteries. For over ten years, the propagation of the legal system and education among the broad masses of Tibetan peasants and nomads, various offices, business enterprises and various schools, privately managed industry and commerce, and families, have shown great results and have been well absorbed by the people. The programme has resulted in successful education about the legal system and produced law abiding citizens among the numerous groups.

However, to date, we have not been able to propagate and educate the monks and nuns about the legal system in a satisfactory manner in the monasteries. The fact that the Party and the government have made firm resolutions to strengthen the work of propagating and educating the monks and nuns about the legal system not only reflects the Party's concern and care for them but also a vital aspect of their responsibility in the management of the monasteries in accordance with the law. The monks and nuns in our region must have a thorough understanding of the prevailing times and situations and study the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and its laws, legal

systems, ordinances and rules so as to enhance their basic knowledge about the legal system.

There is no contradiction in monks and nuns at large professing religious faith on the one hand and voluntarily studying about the legal system on the other. Freedom to practice one's religion is a right given to all the people by law. If monks and nuns voluntarily study and accept the education about the legal system, then they would be able to understand the detailed provisions made under our laws about the right to practice one's religion. This would also strengthen one's belief in one's own sect, more than ever before within the provisions of the law. One could also defend one's right of religious freedom. The nature of our country is the leadership by the working classes in conjunction with the people's "democratic dictatorship" comprising of a base formed by the alliance of the workers and peasants. This is self evident more clearly than ever before.

We can continue the progress on the path of implementing socialism, the people's "democratic dictatorship", the leadership of the Party, Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Zedong. The "Four Basic Principles" are the common political foundation of the Central Committee of the Party for advancing the leadership and unity of the various nationalities of the country as well as being a basic guarantee for the development of modernisation carried out by the Socialist system. Any talks and activities that contradict the "Four Basic Principles" is illegal. For example, the gathering of numerous people and causing disturbances, secretly plotting rebellion, public gatherings and demonstrations, creating unrest, antagonising the government, splitting the motherland in an attempt to gain independence, destroying the unity of the nationalities, conspiring with foreign countries, betrayals, causing rebellious turmoil, giving material and financial assistance to the enemy - these are instances of violating the bounds of "enemy and self" relationship. It is also a political struggle of a "life and death" situation.

Those who harbour the evil hope of toppling the political power of the country

by opposing the Party and the socialist system are culpable as counter-revolutionary activists. Since such activities are incongruous with the legal system, they deserve to be severely beaten up [??] and punished in accordance with the provisions of the law.

The monks and nuns at large, after studying the legal system, must continue to expand their awareness of law and strengthen their ideological faith in the legal system. This must be achieved through, first of all, self-awareness and self-control in speech and behaviour.

One must know what action is right or wrong. One must also know the rights enjoyed as well as the corresponding duties of the people. Speaking from the point of view of the Monastic Management Office, the Democratic Management Committees of the monasteries must study the legal provisions and then firmly carry out their duty in accordance with the Constitution and law. Appropriate rules and regulations must be made in accordance with the law to serve as basic guidelines for reference and disciplinary measures for the Management Committees to enforce and enhance their own power and authority.

In accordance with the law, various urgently needed regulations must be established and enforced to ensure the success of the pledges. Reports about the adoption and implementation of the works must be reported to the concerned Administrative Management, not from time to time, but whenever necessary. By means of self-awareness, they must accept the leadership of the government unit voluntarily and pledge to make timely reports about the monastery. Through self-understanding, they must voluntarily watch and enthuse social consciousness and thus ensure a continuous rise in standard practice. All the various monasteries must carry out works which accord with the religion and refrain from carrying out activities that are incongruous with the law of the country. All the monks and nuns must be self-supporting, respect the regulations and abide by the law, love one's country and love one's religion and in short, become good monks or good nuns and good citizens.

Chapter 2

The law must be implemented in the monasteries

It has been ten years since the launch of the propagation and education about the

legal system among the general masses. The awareness of law and the concept of

rule of law among the people at large has risen considerably, resulting in peace and

stability in society, instigating and accelerating progress in economic as well as various other types of activities. It has made solid contributions to the safeguarding the unity of the motherland, the strengthening of the solidarity of the nationalities, and stepping up the struggle to oppose the splittists.

As a result of the propagation and education about the legal system among the masses and townfolk, isolated incidents of disturbances caused by a handful of splittists, people have been quick to recognise such action as being illegal and refused to be drawn in whether as spectators, followers or even said anything about it. As a consequence, such evil people have been left isolated without any friends which has enabled the law enforcing agencies to quell the disturbances quickly and effectively.

However, the work of providing education about the legal system is not deep enough in our region, especially in the monasteries. The work of propagating and providing education about the legal system has been a weak link in the chain as a result of slack and indifferent management over the many years, which was easily exploited by the splittist forces in the form of provoking disturbances by using the monasteries. They presume that by hoisting flags of religion they could get away with rampant acts of disturbances, and get away with whatever they wished without fear of punishment, even for illegal acts. Some monastic communities have actually come under the influence of the splittists powers and have become centres for opposing the people's political authority. It has also become a political base for the Dalai faction to infiltrate our region and to propagate splittist activities. Since such disturbances undermine the social discipline and destroy the prevailing atmosphere of political stability and unity, we must be particularly vigilant and circumspect about them.

The recent decision by the Party Central Committee to introduce the Patriotic Education programme and establish rules and regulations, in all the monasteries in the TAR has been a timely and necessary step in order to deepen the struggle against the splittists, defend the unity of the motherland, strengthening the solidarity of the nationalities, ushering in a period of peace and stability, and in instigating development and progress all of which have significant and long-term implications.

The work of strengthening the drive to propagate and conduct the education

programme about the legal system among the monks and nuns must be considered as an important internal matter.

This is the first year of the Third Five Year Plan for propagating the legal system. The guiding principles for the task of propagating and providing education about the legal system during the Third Five Year Plan are: to publicise the basic theoretical guidance of comrade Deng Xiaoping about establishing a socialist system with Chinese characteristics; to implement the basic guidelines provided by the Party; to effectively implement the wishes of the 5th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee; to respect and serve the overall work of the nation and the Party; to make the propagation and education in legal system go hand in hand with the actual practice of law; to continue the support and enhance the tasks of the various levels of the offices responsible for propagating the legal system and their management units; to find new ways to increase the public awareness about the concept of the rule of law and the principles enshrined in the Constitution; to make the legal system widely known and respected and to encourage reforms and changes in ways of working to accord with the provisions of law; and to enable the socialist legal system to mobilise and enhance successive stages of national development.

The propagation of the legal system under the Third Five Year Plan should continue to spread knowledge about the Constitution; spread knowledge about basic laws that have close relevance to the citizens' work and livelihood; propagate knowledge and education in basic laws relevant to safeguarding the peace and stability of society in order to raise the citizens' concept of rights and duties; and enhance the citizens' confidence and ability to safeguard their legal rights by using the Constitution as a weapon and encourage greater vigilance in the struggle against criminal and illegal activities. By combining education about the law and the application of law in practice, one must instigate reform and change in every aspect of our work in accordance with the law.

The enforcement of the law in the monasteries originates from the decision passed by the Regional Party Committee and the implementation of the planned policy to propagate knowledge about the legal system under the The Third Five Year Plan.

To carry out the work of education about the legal system in the monasteries,

it is necessary to take into consideration the actual circumstance of the monasteries and then provide relevant education within the framework of the Constitution. The monks and nuns at large must thoroughly study the penal codes, rulings on the management and punitive measures relating to security, laws on public gathering and demonstrations, and the laws relating to the management of the monasteries. Similarly the monks and nuns must study about the laws in order to make their own behaviour exemplary, through proper knowledge and understanding of the law and abiding within the law.

The constitution is the fundamental law of the nation and it is used as a basis upon which all legal decisions and other regulations are based, therefore it has the greatest legal power. To promote education about the legal system inside the monasteries a thorough study of the Constitution is paramount. The monks and nuns at large should, by developing their own awareness as common citizens, enhance their knowledge of the concepts of rights and duties.

Although the work of the monks and nuns is a little different, nevertheless, they remain citizens of the People's Republic of China and all citizens are the same and equal before the law. They enjoy equality in the enjoyment of their rights and as such, they also have the equal responsibilities. They have equal rights in receiving legal protection and they have equal responsibility in upholding the law. Whosoever a person may be, he/she has no special power which goes beyond the Constitution and the law; and there are no special citizens before the law. The interests of the People's Republic of China and the unity of the nation come first and foremost.

The freedom of religious belief is a basic right granted to every citizen by the Constitution. However, the monks and nuns at large must interpret the right to freedom of religious belief in a wholesome and proper sense. Freedom of religious belief must accord with the provisions of the Constitution and the laws. No country allows unrestricted and absolute freedom of religion. All countries have laws and regulations. Monks and nuns are people engaged in the religious profession and as such, whilst enjoying the right given by the Constitution to practise one's belief they must also bear the responsibility of abiding by the provisions of the Constitution and the laws.

They must conduct their normal

religious activities in accordance with their religious codes and ethics and safeguard normal discipline relating to religious practice. No person is allowed to promote or engage in activities that misuse religion to undermine social discipline, cause harm to the physical well-being of the public, and impede the progress of the education system of the country.

It is also forbidden to harm the interest of the nation, the society and co-operatives [*myam sdeb*] and other legally sanctioned pursuits and enterprises of other citizens. It is also forbidden for any person to use religion to undermine the solidarity of the nationalities, to split the motherland or to try to undermine the normal religious discipline with the evil aim and intention of splitting the motherland and destroying the solidarity of the nationalities.

It is also forbidden to create any situation that undermines the love of religion of the broad masses. Those who have managed to join the monastic fraternity under false pretenses, those splittists who wear religious garb and other criminals must be identified, rooted out and punished in accordance with the law. If a person is a genuine monk or a nun then he/she should bear sincere patriotism, love religion and respect and uphold the law and must certainly support the political work of cleaning up the splittists and other criminals. Only when such bad elements are rounded up would it be possible to promote normal religious work and enable the monks and nuns to exercise their right of freedom of religious belief.

The Constitution provides that it is the duty of the citizens of the People's Republic of China to safeguard the unity of the motherland and the friendship and solidarity of the nationalities of the whole country. In Tibet, the struggle between the splittists and those opposed to splittists remains as acute, as complicated and as urgent as before.

The Dalai faction is collaborating with foreign reactionary powers at all levels in order to promote criminal activities for realising their evil aim of splitting the motherland; and this is the root cause of instability in Tibet. The Dalai is the main culprit who is trying to split the motherland. The safeguarding of the unity of the motherland and the friendship and solidarity of the various nationalities is a responsibility which must be borne by every citizen. Therefore the broad masses of monks and nuns must draw a clear dividing line between

themselves and the splittists and beware of the Dalai's evil design to split the motherland.

They must also understand clearly that having faith in Tibetan Buddhism and having faith in the Dalai, are not one and the same thing. The Dalai's endeavour to destroy the friendship and solidarity of the nationalities and to split the motherland is against the basic tenets of the Buddha dharma and in reality, it is a betrayal of Buddhism inside Tibet. Therefore, at present the Dalai is no longer "head of the religion" but has instead become a tool of the reactionary foreign powers opposing China.

He has become the main culprit for undermining economic development and social stability in both in our region [TAR] and in the country as a whole. He has become the biggest obstacle to the development of normal discipline in Tibetan Buddhism. Unmasking the real intention of the Dalai has become a responsibility for everyone to ensure the unity of the motherland and to safeguard the friendship and solidarity of the nationalities. Contemporary development of the Buddha dharma in a normal manner inside Tibet is carried out by the socialist system because it is appropriate for its society.

By implementing the law inside the monasteries, we strengthen the work of reforming and maintaining the monasteries in accordance with the law based on the propagation of education about the legal system. We have completely wiped out the special privileges of the feudal times (from the so-called "combined religious and secular rule" period) and the oppressive system of exploitation inside the monasteries a long time ago and it should never be allowed to be resurrected. However, some criminals inside the monasteries are trying to resurrect and revive the oppressive system of exploitation sanctioned by the "combined religious and secular rule" system, which was swept away a long time ago. This will never be accepted by the people.

Religious activities must be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and the law. When the government carries out management works in accordance with the law of the land, the monasteries must voluntarily accept it. This policy and the policy of the freedom of religion are one and the same thing. The monasteries are secluded places for religious practice and should never be a haven for evil people. If they become places for promoting destructive and subversive activities by the splittists,

then it would be doubly forbidden. All the criminals will be completely cleared out and expelled from monasteries and the leadership of the monasteries will be held by patriotic, religious practitioners and administered according to democratic management guidelines. This will bring discipline in regular religious activities. Only then will it be possible for the believing masses to exercise their right of religious freedom.

In the constitution it has been provided that the citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right and the responsibility to work. These rights are safeguarded by law. The State facilitates job creation and recruitment through the Offices of Labour and by strengthening the work of safeguarding the interests and welfare of labour and increase in rewards for labour. The act of working (labour) is also a duty and all those citizens who have labour power must view themselves as the owner of the country and hold a positive view of labour. "All must do whatever they can and one must feed one's mouth" [slogan].

Since the monks and nuns in the monasteries are also citizens they have the right to work as well as the responsibility to work. If one has labour power, then everyone must inculcate a sense of dignity of labour and love to work to feed one's mouth oneself.

The famous text "The Great Covenant" of Chinese Buddhism advises, "If one doesn't practise religion for one day, then one must also forsake food for a day." In the monasteries, the idea of "the monasteries feeding themselves" should be examined carefully in order to become a sincere Buddhist practitioner as well as self-supporting labourers who can feed themselves. The Buddhist practitioner must aim to inculcate compassion and focus on saving souls and try to lighten the burden of the faithful as best as they can.

The monastery is a place where religious activities are promoted and have a special quality of their own. Therefore, the task of propagating and providing education about the legal system and carrying out reforms in monastic practice should be carried out carefully and patiently in accordance with the actual situation of the monasteries. The management of the monasteries must be strengthened in an uncompromising and persistent manner in conjunction with the task of propagating knowledge about legal system.

If the broad masses of monks and nuns ensure that they understand the law,

heighten their awareness and knowledge of the concept of law and, respect and abide by the law, the task of reforming

monastic practices according to the law will be greatly enhanced. It would then be possible to gradually establish a proper

monastic management system that is appropriate to the socialist system.

Chapter 3

About the constitution

I. The constitution as the basic and highest law of the country

A Constitution is the basic and highest law of the country and also the common legal document of a country. The legal system of a country consists of the Constitution, which is the pivot for all other laws such as the criminal law, civil laws, judicial laws [zhu gtugs] etc.

The reasons why the Constitution is the supreme law are:

1. The basic content of the Constitution comprises of all the important matters of the country such as the fundamental system of governance, the social system and the basic laws of the country, basic responsibilities, basic national policy, and the fundamental rights and duties of the citizens.

2. The Constitution has the greatest legal authority and, therefore, it is the foundation upon which all other laws are based, and as the "Mother of Laws" no other judicial system and laws and by-laws can contradict the Constitution. If a law or decision contradicts the Constitution, it will not be respected and so it must be annulled or amended. The Constitution is the criterion by which you measure the activities of the various departments of the state, Party and government, social organisations, and the citizens. All the government offices, all military, Party and government, social organisations, all commercial and other organisations must carry out their activities in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. All the citizens without exception must seriously honour the Constitution and any activity that infringes the Constitution and the law must be investigated. No one, be it an organisation or person, is allowed any special power or privilege beyond the limits of the Constitution and the laws.

3. Framing a Constitution and making any amendments thereto is a matter that is much more serious than other laws.

The Constitution is decided upon by the National People's Congress, the supreme legal authority in the country,

which then oversees the task of propagating and implementing the Constitution.

To amend the Constitution, either more than one fifth of the representatives of the National People's Congress or the Working Committee of the National People's Congress, must propose the amendment and then it must be approved by a majority of more than two thirds of all the representatives of the National People's Congress.

For amendments to other laws, the proposed amendments needs the approval of one half of the representatives of the National People's Congress. Therefore, the Constitution is the supreme law of the country and called the "Fundamental Law", "the Law of the Country" and the "Mother Law".

II. The fundamental rights of the citizen as provided by the Constitution

The right of the citizen is a pledge carried out in accordance with the Constitution and the law of the country in order to fulfil definite aspirations of the people or to reap definite benefits. Those declarations enshrined in the Constitution consist of the main issues of concern relating to the fundamental rights of the citizen. The fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizen by the Constitution of our country can be grouped in the following ten categories:

1. Right of equality.

The citizens of the People's Republic of China are all equal before the law; and before the judiciary and law enforcement authorities, all citizens are equal and there are no special citizens.

2. Freedom of political rights.

Freedom of political rights consists of the right of the citizen to participate in "taking care of the nation", to participate in politics and in political discussions, and the right to express a private individual's view and aspirations. This is the foundation of the principle that "all the power of the state belongs to the people". This amply illustrates the political point that the people have the right to "exercise

control over one's own house".

The main contents are: the right to vote and the right to stand for elections, the right to speak, the right to publish, the right to assemble, the right to hold meetings, the right to demonstrate, and the right to hold rallies.

Article 34 of the Constitution states that any citizen of People's Republic of China, when he/she has reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of his/her nationality, race, sex, work, family background, religious belief, educational qualification, economic condition and period of residence - everyone, without exception, has the right to vote and the right to be elected. However, those who have their political rights withdrawn in accordance with the law are not entitled to such rights.

Article 35 provides that "the citizen of the People's Republic of China has the right of speech, the right to publish, the right to assemble, the right to hold meetings, the right to demonstrate, and the right to hold rallies".

3. Freedom of religious belief.

4. Personal freedom.

The key points are: personal freedom means not having to endure forced harm to one's personal wellbeing, not having to endure forced harm to one's human rights and dignity, not having to endure forced harm to a citizen's house, freedom to correspond and the protection of confidentiality of one's correspondence by law.

5. The right to criticise, right to propose the agenda of a meeting, right to report and represent oneself, right to take a case to the court or else expose wrong doing and the right to seek compensation.

6. Social and economic rights.

The main points: the right to work, the right to rest, the right to a secure livelihood after retirement and the right to receive material assistance.

7. The right to receive education, engage in scientific explorations, engage in new and creative writings, and the right to do other cultural activities.

8. The right to safeguard the rights and interests of the country's women.

9. The country will safeguard old people, women, children, families and marriages.

III. The fundamental duties of citizens as enshrined in the Constitution of the country

In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the following are the duties of our citizens:

1. to safeguard the unity of the country and the friendship and solidarity of the nationalities;
2. to respect and know the Constitution and the law, to guard state secrets, to take care of national wealth, to respect the labour laws, to respect social regulations, and to respect and honour good social conduct in society;
3. to safeguard national stability, national honour and national interests;
4. to safeguard the motherland; and volunteer for military recruitment and to join the people's militia in accordance with the provisions of the law;
5. to work is the glorious right as well as duty of every able-bodied citizen;
6. to pay taxes in accordance with the law;
7. to implement family planning.

IV. To hold a correct view of the rights and duties of the citizens.

The Constitution stipulates that whilst enjoying the "rights" provided in the Constitution and the laws, the citizens must also carry out the "duties" provided therein. Citizens must also realise that "rights" and "duties" go hand in hand and should view this correctly. Although "rights" and "duties" have the same nature, they also have their differences.

In this world, there are no duties which do not entail corresponding rights and conversely, there are no rights which do not entail a corresponding duty. It is important to know that there are no rights of any kind which do not have limits and bounds. The citizen can take full advantage of his/her rights and make proper use of his/her rights only if he/she respects the Constitution and the law and carries out his/her duties seriously.

Whilst exercising his/her rights no citizen is allowed to harm the interests of

the nation, society, co-operatives or other private individuals. We must, without hesitation, oppose the ultra-rightists who are bent on destroying the people's democratic rights, and the activities of the anarchists. It is important to make a clear decision about the relation between democracy and centralisation, freedom and discipline, individual and collective interests, local interests and national interests, temporary benefits and long term benefits and then educate the citizens to exercise their rights properly and carry out their duties resolutely.

A special point to be made here is: the word "citizen" is a legal term and refers to a person who hails from within the country of which he/she is a citizen. The Constitution of our country provides that "all the people who belong to any nationality within the People's Republic of China are citizens of the People's Republic of China".

Whoever a citizen may be, all are entitled to the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the law. Concurrently, they must certainly carry out the duties specified by the Constitution and the law".

The monks and the nuns of our region [TAR] too, belong to the People's Republic of China and, as such, they are all citizens of the People's Republic of China. Therefore, they are entitled to enjoy the rights provided by the Constitution and the law, as well as obligated to carry out the duties as laid down by the Constitution and the law.

Those monks and nuns, who think that monks and nuns, places of religious worship and practice are exempt from the controls of the Constitution and the law are misguided and lacking in general knowledge.

Let us take the case of the monasteries. In earlier times in old Tibet, when the rulers held feudal power and privileges under the system of dual rule by religious and political authorities, the monks and nuns, the places of religious worship and practice, had to abide by the laws of the local political government as well as that of the central government. Hence, under the current period when the people "exercise control over their own house" it becomes even more pertinent to follow the directions laid down by the law. Private individuals or organisations, whoever they may be, if they violate the provisions of the Constitution, then they would be punishable by law.

V. Regional Autonomy for Nationalities

Regional Autonomy for Nationalities

means that the various minority nationalities living together under the unified leadership of the State enjoy regional autonomy by actually forming a regional autonomous office and exercising regional autonomous powers.

By implementing regional autonomy for nationalities the State has shown its wish to guarantee and respect the rights of the minority nationalities to carry out their internal nationality activities themselves. It is also a reflection of the will of the State to make an all-out drive to implement the basic work of ensuring common progress and prosperity for all, based on equality and unity of the various nationalities of the country.

All the autonomous regions of the nationalities are an inseparable part of the People's Republic of China. With resolve we must firmly safeguard the unity of the motherland and oppose all talks about splitting the motherland.

VI. The Relationship of the Nationalities in our Country as provided in the Constitution

The reasons for making the provisions in the Constitution:

All the various nationalities of the People's Republic of China are equal. The State will safeguard the legal interests and rights of the minority nationalities and promote and safeguard the relationship of mutual assistance, co-operation and equality of the nationalities. It will prevent oppression and discrimination of any nationalities and prevent any activities which attempt to split the nationalities and destroy the friendship and solidarity of the nationalities.

Our nation is a country formed through a long period of history and it is a nation of many nationalities with people from various nationalities who have all agreed to hand over power to the centre. The 56 nationalities have their differences but they also have a firm and inseparable "flesh and bone" relationship. There are differences of language, native customs, religious belief, and regional habitat.

The sharing of common interests, common aspirations, opposition to foreign invasion and oppression, common experience of livelihood, and firm cultural and economic relationships has made it historically difficult for the minority nationalities to split from the Han Chinese, and the Han Chinese, too, have also become as inseparable as "flesh and bone" from their minority nationality brothers and sisters.

At the same time we must severely object to the mistakes of Han chauvinism

and the regional nationalities' narrow-mindedness, and with determination, safeguard the new relationship of the nationalities under the socialist system through mutual assistance, co-operation and equality and safeguard the friendship and solidarity of the nationalities.

VII. On the autonomous power of the Nationality Autonomous Regions

There is a difference between the exercise of regional autonomous power by the nationality autonomous regions and the exercise of power by the administrative offices and the general regional government offices.

The main autonomous powers of the nationality autonomous regions are:

1. they can decide on autonomous matters and privileged regulations, they have the power to implement or discontinue resolutions, decisions, government edicts and directives, and to submit proposals to the higher National Offices;
2. they can promote and use one or many of the unique local languages used in particular areas and respect the language of the nationalities;
3. they can appoint minority national cadres to offices and nurture (train) them, and recruit labourers from the farming and nomadic areas;
4. they have independent power to manage regional economic and financial affairs;
5. they can make use of appropriate methods and special policies to develop their economy. They can, through self-determination, appoint and manage regional economic development projects;

6. regional educational, scientific, cultural, sanitation and physical education activities can be managed through self-determination;

7. in accordance with provisions of the Constitution they can form the People's Armed Police force for the region;

8. they can decide about the policy of family planning for their own region.

VIII. The meaning of the symbols on the flag of the People's Republic of China

The flag of the People's Republic of China consists of a red flag with five stars. The red colour of the flag denotes revolution. The yellow colour of the five stars denotes rays appearing on the red earth. The four small stars with five corners pointing to the main body of the five cornered big star denotes the great unity of the all peoples of the nation with the Communist Party of China as the pivot.

IX. The meaning of the symbols of the national emblem of the People's Republic of China

The People's Republic of China's national emblem consists of five shining stars in the centre with the Tian-an-men Gate below it and surrounded by teathed wheel and an ear of grain. The teathed wheel and the ear of grain denotes the alliance of the peasants and workers under the leadership of the working class. The five stars denote the great unity of the people of China under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The Tian-an-men Gate is the place where the May Fourth movement took place and it is also the place where the first opening ceremony of the founding of the People's Republic of China took place. It is a

symbol of the founding of a new China and a revolutionary tradition of the people of our country.

X. Insulting the national emblem and the flag of the People's Republic of China is a criminal act

According to the decision reached while supplementing the criminal codes by the 14th meeting of the 6th session of the Working Committee of the National People's Congress held on 28 June 1990, "insulting the national emblem and the flag of the People's Republic of China intentionally in public gatherings by burning them, damaging them, colouring them or drawing figures, criticising them or spoiling them by trampling upon them, may be punishable with sentences ranging from imprisonment up to three years, forcible detention for hard labour, being handed over to the law for further investigation or else withdrawal of political rights."

XI. The meaning of withdrawal of political rights

Taking away one's political right means taking away the following rights:

- (a) right to vote and right to be voted for;
- (b) rights granted under the Article 35 of the Constitution (speech, publication, mass meeting, to form associations, to demonstrate and to hold rallies);
- (c) right to hold positions of authority in national government offices;
- (d) right to hold positions of authority in business enterprises and various works and services, and the right to the leadership of people's organisations.

Document 6: Patriotic Education Book IV

This is the fourth and last of the books on patriotic education. Its topic is religious policy. Selected extracts are given here, as well as the contents page, to provide a general overview of the book content. In addition, there is a translation of the third section, on rules, regulations and management in the monasteries. [TIN Ref 64(VF)]

Book IV: A Brief Summary Explanation of the Policy on Religion

Reference Material No. 4 on the explanation of the propagation of patriotic education in the monasteries throughout the TAR

[Published by:] Governing Office for the Propagation of Patriotic Education in All Monasteries Throughout the TAR, June 1996

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Selected Extracts from Book IV

Page 1

In our region religion has a widespread and profound influence. The implementation of the Party's policy on religion in a proper and comprehensive manner, the strengthening of the management of religious affairs in accordance with the law, and provision of vigorous guidance to the religious community and the socialist society to be mutually compatible, are all vital issues for the modernisation of socialism in our region, the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the continuation of peace and stability in our region, strengthening the solidarity of the nationalities, in safe-guarding the unity of the motherland and in opposing separatism through to the end.

Therefore, conducting religious affairs properly and seriously and implementing the Party's policy on religion effectively are vital issues that impinge on all aspects of work in our region.

Page 6

During the construction period of socialist modernisation the ideological difference

between religious believers and non-believers is not an important factor because their common ground in political and economical interests is more important. The Party and the State pays great attention to enhancing the patriotic and socialist education of religious believers and religious personnel to arouse their patriotic enthusiasm, and to support religious personnel in undertaking beneficial work for social improvements.

Page 7

No-one is allowed to use religion to interfere with the administration of the state, the law, school education and public education of society. No-one is allowed to use religion to obstruct the implementation of the compulsory education law. In particular, no-one is allowed to invent any excuse of having religious freedom to force children under the age of 18 to leave school to join a monastery and study scriptures. No-one is allowed to use religion to interfere in people's work, production and educational undertakings.

Page 8

The Party's fundamental expectations of religious affairs, religious personnel and organisations: An important component of the Party's work on religious affairs is to work for the interest of the religious personnel, to befriend them and to educate them.

Page 9

For the convenience of the mass of religious believers to carry out their religious activities some monasteries and chapels are needed, but our work on religious affairs must pay attention to preventing places and funds for economic development and modernisation being misused for restoring and building places of religious activity. In particular, care must be taken to ensure that the tax burden of the masses do not occur as a result of collusion and use of force. The funding of the restoration of places of religious activity can only come from funds approved by the government, and apart from that, other funds of the state and of the collective are not allowed to be used

for those purposes. In particular, we must prevent monasteries being built recklessly in the villages.

Page 10

Religious organisations in charge of the management of places of religious activity and personnel must accept the leadership of the Government's Religious Affairs department, and must act in accordance with the government's arrangements and instructions. Religious organisations must appropriately plan well the time, scope and frequency of religious activities, and must not affect the rules and regulations of society, production and of work. No religious organisation or personnel are allowed to preach Christianity, develop religion, publicise theism or publish religious leaflets, scriptures and magazines outside places of religious activity without the permission of the competent authorities.

Page 11

Religious organisations should strengthen the management of the funds and entrance fees of the monasteries and chapels, and must make seasonal or annual reports about their income to the competent authorities. In accordance with the income and expenses of the places of religious activity, the competent authorities should make appropriate arrangements to manage the funds.

Page 12

All the places of religious activity and personnel, especially the newer ones, should put more emphasis on study; besides studying scriptures, they should also study modern science, general knowledge and patriotism, they should continuously improve the consciousness of patriotism and socialism, should raise their standard of literacy and religious knowledge and respect and abide by the Constitution and the laws of the country.

Page 17

In April 1959, during the Supreme State Affairs Conference [later on they no longer held this conference], Chairman Mao said to the 10th Panchen Lama and to Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, "I do not believe in your brand of Buddhism-Gelugpa Buddhism. Although I can accept your belief in it, how about making some small changes to certain aspects of its rules and regulations? Your population is 1,200,000 including 110,000 monks who are not productive. So would you agree to change this situation to suit modern times? What's more, if the monks

engage in production by participating in agricultural and industrial work, then they could continue for a long time." Two years later Chairman Mao said to the Panchen Lama: "Before, there were 110,000 monks amongst a population of 1,110,000. It was not only hard to feed them [the monks] but also detrimental to the development of production and population. Regarding religious affairs now only a few thousand people study scriptures, politics and other different disciplines, reducing the former number of 110,000 monks down to a few thousand; those 100,000 (approx.) people now participating in production work greatly benefit the development of production and of population and you must realise that."

Page 21

We are not going to wipe out religion, and much less promote it, by taking recourse to the power of the administration. According to the principles of religion it must be separated from politics, no religion is allowed to interfere with government affairs including the administration of law, education, marriage, and birth planning etc, and it is not permitted to oppose publicising the Four Basic Principles. People must fulfil their obligations whilst enjoying the right of religious freedom.

Page 22

We must not allow foreign forces to control any of our country's religious organisations and religious affairs.... Religious organisations and individuals from foreign places are not allowed to establish religious organisations, agencies, places of religious activity or religious schools in our country. They are not allowed to recruit or appoint religious personnel amongst our people, neither are they allowed to engage in other activities to promote religion.

Page 23

Hostile international forces are using nationality and religious affairs to make a breach in our socialist country in order to "westernise" and to "split" our country. The splitist forces are also continually using religious affairs to instigate riots and disturbances that we must take notice and be alert about. Our country's religious organisations should always advise their staff and religious believers to persist in being vigilant and to prevent these infiltrators from acting on their own accord. At the same time the patriotic religious organisations should be able to under-

stand that they will be the first to be undermined by such infiltration.

Page 32

In January 1994 the State Council promulgated the "Resolution on Management of Foreigners' Religious Activities in the Territory of the People's Republic of China" (Order number 144) and "Regulations Regarding the Management of Places of Religious Activity" (Order number 145), and to adapt Order No. 145, the Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council also announced "Registration of Places of Religious Activity" and their ideas on implementing them, so that we must seriously make all of these orders workable.

Page 61

We must point out that those high-ranking lamas are in fact religious aristocrats and serf owners of serfdom. They had lots of privileges and power in the fields of administration, economy and law in Tibet. What's more, they even controlled the ideology and world outlook of the people. Therefore, we can say that they not only exploited and oppressed the vast mass of working class people but also exploited and oppressed the middle and lower class of monks and nuns.

Page 63

During our country's period of socialism, both religious believers and non-believers, all united in their love for their motherland, faith in socialism and the Chinese Communist Party, and this is their common political ground. The vast mass of religious believers and non-believers all understand that the Party is their liberator, the socialist cause led by the Party brings them happiness and protects their interests. It is a cause that leads the people of various nationalities of our country to a bright new future.

Page 72

We must seriously analyse religious disputes and sort out the problems appropriately in due course through education, but we must be alert of those few people who sow discord between religious believers and non-believers under the disguise of religious issues. Those who had serious problems and who had purposefully caused troubles must be exposed and punished in accordance with the law.

Page 73

The common ground of adapting religion

to socialism is that the vast number of religious believers are supporters of socialism and their basic interests are in common with the whole people of the country. Our Party and government at

every level have the methods and abilities to adapt religious activities and affairs to socialism by leading the patriotic religious associations and the religious believers to combine their religious love

with patriotism and by implementing the Party's religious policy widely on a long term basis in a stable and persistent way.

Extract from Chapter 3 [pp48-57]

Rules and regulations in the monasteries for the monks and nuns in monasteries to serve as a basis of discipline

To make rules and regulations in the monasteries so that the religious organisations, associations and places of religious activity have laws and rules to observe is not only a guarantee for the implementation of the Party's religious policy in a comprehensive manner, but also a basic condition for guaranteeing that the work of religious affairs is carried out normally.

I. The Importance of making rules and regulations in the monasteries

During the period of socialist society, religion was seen as a special phenomenon and regarded as a normal element of society. All religious organisations, associations, places of religious activity and religious personnel are all participating and living members of society. As such they are a part and parcel of the wider society and intimately connected to the wider culture and material development besides impacting upon society and politics. As the administration of the society is improving day by day, it goes without saying that religious affairs, too, must be included as a component of wider society for reform and progress.

To make rules and regulations in religion is an important aspect of introducing discipline for normal conduct of religious affairs.

These days religion has spread and seeped in society at all levels and a few criminals have been misusing the freedom of religion provided by the Party, to exploit religious organisations and activities by deceiving the humble people, disturbing their daily life, and de-stabilising society.

In our region, since 1987, some monks and nuns of certain monasteries have frequently caused and participated in social disturbances by ignoring the country's Constitution and laws, and by violating religious commandments and rules. They became the vanguard of separatist forces and co-operated with internal and external separatist activities. They had a bad impact on our region's construction of a modern society and the daily life of the people. They sabotaged our region's stability and solidarity.

Therefore the vast majority of people earnestly requested the strengthening of the administration of the monasteries by making rules and regulations. We must understand that to make rules and regulations in religion, is an important task for strengthening the administration of religion to obtain social stability and to reassure the public.

It is necessary to make rules and regulations in religion in order to safeguard the freedom of religion granted to the citizens by the Party. Under normal conditions, the Party's policy on freedom of religion is implemented through religious organisations, associations and places of religious activity.

If there are no common rules and regulations for religious organisations, associations and religious affairs, and they are allowed to do as they pleased, they would undermine the interest of society, and have a bad impact on people's religious freedom. Even the non-believers could find their freedom not to believe in religion undermined and the resulting social disturbances would render it impossible to implement the Party's policy of religious freedom and consequently, the people would not be able to enjoy freedom of religion.

It is also necessary for the development of religion itself to have rules and regulations. Religion has been a special phenomenon during the historical stages of social development and as such religion must be relevant and responsive to society and politics of a particular time.

Therefore, no society, political party or class will ever tolerate a religious system that confronts them as an enemy. For example, the 'Mo nyi' religion once flourished during the rule of the Ming dynasty, but as it went against the dynasty the ruling class abolished it quickly and nowadays, the evidence of this religion can be found only in archaeological studies. The prerequisites of religion under a socialist system are: love of country and religion, law abiding behaviour and working for the benefit of the masses.

If religion deviates from these prerequisites, then it will lose its legitimacy to

exist. To be in line with this prerequisite of loving the country and religion, abiding by the law and benefiting the masses, religious activity must be carried out according to the rules and regulations which conform to these prerequisites. If there are no rules and regulations to observe then religion could easily disintegrate and the People's Government may have to abolish it. If this happens, not only would the development of the religion be hindered but its very existence could be endangered. Therefore all the religious organisations, associations, monks and religious believers must see the importance of having rules and regulations in religion.

The Religious Affairs Departments of the Party and government and the staff of religious affairs must understand the importance of making rules and regulations for religion; they must continuously study the latest problems and pay attention to new trends. They must place the administration of religious affairs and the self-administration of religion within the framework of normal social administration.

II. It would be preposterous to abandon rules and regulations

To implement the Party's policy of religious freedom for the benefit of society, the Central Party Committee and the State Council attaches great importance to the administration of religious affairs.

To standardise the administration of religion, the State has promulgated the "Regulations regarding the Management of Places of Religious Activity" and "Measures for the Registration of Places of Religious Activity."

Our responsibility for administering religious affairs is much more grave compared to other regions since our religious issues are quite pronounced. At the end of 1991 the Regional government passed a resolution about temporary measures for the management of religious affairs.

The contents of the temporary measures of implementing the religion policy in our region are as follows:

1. The Government respects and safeguards the religious freedom of the citizen and view all the different religious schools, organisations and place of religious activity as equals. Religious believers and non-believers and all those who believe in different religions or follow different religious traditions must respect one another and unite together to make joint efforts in securing stability in society and developing their material and spiritual civilisations.

2. All religious activities of religious organisations and their place of religious activity must be carried out within the limits permitted by the country's Constitution, law, regulations and policies, and the government will then protect the religious personnel's normal religious practices and activities.

3. The government will protect the lawful rights of religious organisations and places of religious activity. Religious organisations, places of religious activity and religious personnel are not allowed to use religion to interfere with the State administration, the law, school education and other social educational undertakings, but should accept the leadership of the Party and government and support the socialist system. They are not allowed to restore their feudal privileges, or the right of feudal jurisdiction over monasteries that were oppressive and exploitative systems which have now been abolished.

4. Generally speaking, the places of religious activity of different religions and different religious schools that have been restored and opened to the public in our region, are basically adequate for the religious believers to carry on their daily religious activities. Therefore, in the future no new places of religious activity is allowed to be restored and opened to the public without the permission of the regional government.

5. Places of religious activity which have been restored and open to the public under the jurisdiction of our autonomous region, should register and catalogue their archival materials in accordance with the stipulations of the State Religious Affairs Department. All registered places of religious activity will be protected by law.

6. The administration of religious organisations is the prerogative of the local government and the authorities responsible for these places of religious activity must have detailed measures to manage

the places efficiently.

7. Except routine religious activities, all important religious activities or ceremonies to be held in the monasteries must be reported to their local government and relevant departments, and in liaison with the relevant departments enforce the rules and regulations during such times.

III. The internal management of the monasteries must be continuously perfected to create a stable society conducive to the modernisation of our region

The internal management of the monasteries is the crux of managing religion in a comprehensive manner as the external management is just one factor. To have firm daily rules and regulations of the monasteries is to strengthen the management from within the monasteries themselves.

Regarding the internal management in the monasteries, the Regional government has made some rules and regulations, with the following key elements:

1. Monasteries must establish democratic management bodies and, in accordance with the size of the monastery and number of resident monks and nuns, these bodies may be named a Committee or a Group. [Democratic Management Committee or Group]

2. The Democratic Management Committee or Group should organise resident monks and nuns to carry out their daily religious rituals, study scriptures, inherit and develop culture and art, and in particular, pay close attention to the education of the young monks and nuns in religion and culture. Those monasteries where these conditions exist, should organise scripture study courses and nurture religious personnel who are politically reliable, patriotic and law abiding, and who have a high level of knowledge in religion.

3. Monasteries should establish rules and regulations for all necessary work and meetings, and report their work to the general meeting of monks at regular intervals.

4. Monasteries should rigorously enforce financial rules and regulations, practise democracy in the field of economy, and regularly announce their income and expenditure to the resident monks and nuns. The distribution of the income of the monastery should be guided by the principle of appropriateness to the circum-

stance of the monastery and reward according to labour input. Donations given by religious believers to individual monks and nuns belongs to the themselves. The collective religious income of the monasteries should be mainly used for the renovation of the monasteries, for the preservation of cultural relics and for the beautifying of the environment, etc. Some of the income can be used for the education of religious intellectuals, to supplement the livelihood of resident monks and nuns and to give awards. Other economic income should be rationally distributed according to work and monasteries must not by any means coerce the masses to give money to them.

5. Monasteries should establish practical systems of studying current policies and law which should help prevent fire and burglary.

Examining the contents of the above, it may be said that all the above requirements and regulations are set for the Religious Administration Department for the monasteries and the Democratic Management Committees. They are not a complete set of internal administration regulations for the monasteries themselves. The most important thing is that the monasteries should proceed from their actual prevailing conditions and under the leadership of their local government make their own realistic rules and regulations. Those monasteries that have already made their own internal rules and regulations should also continuously perfect them in accordance with the ongoing development. If the monasteries could make good interior rules and regulations, then they would not only achieve stability and unity within their monasteries, but would also prevent those few monks from violating the rules and regulations of the monasteries and going out to cause social disorder and instability.

The continuous improvement of the internal rules and regulations of the monasteries not only maintains the stability of the monasteries themselves, but also contributes to maintaining general social stability. To continuously improve the internal rules and regulations must be seen by the monasteries as an important issue and an act of loving the country and benefiting the masses. They should make the monasteries places of patriotism and religious passion and create a good environment to secure a stable society.

B: Questions and Answers; Examination Paper

Document 7: Questions and Answers for Study

The following is a translation of document written and distributed to monks by the Patriotic Education work team in Yardoe, Nedong County in Lhokha Prefecture. The document is a series of twenty-four questions and the answers to these questions that the monks are required to give relating to such issues as religious policy in the TAR, the party's stand on the "Dalai", China's historical claims to Tibet, and the Chinese constitution. The original document was handwritten in Tibetan [TIN Ref 17(VT)].

Questions and Answers on the Patriotic Education Programme in Monasteries [rgyal gces ring lugs kyi siob gso gtong ba'l shes bya'l dri ba dri lan]

Question 1

What is the reason for establishing normal order [rgyun ldan gyi sgrig lam] in the monasteries through Patriotic Education, weeding out [gtsang bsher] and reforms [bcod sgrig (sle)]?

Answer: It is to continue the policy concerning the unification of the motherland, the promotion of political stability, the strengthening of the solidarity of the nationalities, and the struggle to oppose to the work of separatists until the end, in order to establish a socialist system with Chinese characteristics. There is no question of choice or scope for falling out of step but to join and follow the forward march of the nationalities of the great family of the motherland.

Question 2

What are the "Four Points" as defined by Comrade Li Ruihuan in relation to the Dalai?

Answer:

- The Dalai is the main leader of the group [seeking] splittism and Tibetan independence.
- [The Dalai Lama is] an unmistakable tool of international forces opposed to the People's Republic of China.
- [The Dalai Lama is] the root cause of stirring up social turmoil in Tibet.
- [The Dalai Lama is] the biggest obstacle standing in the way of establishing normal order in Tibetan Buddhism [nang gtan (sic)].

Question 3.

What is the policy of the Government of the People's Republic of China [krung dbyang] towards the Dalai?

Answer: The Dalai would be welcome if he acknowledges that Tibet is an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China, eschews the desire for Tibetan independence, and returns to the fold of

the great motherland to contribute to the unification of the country and enhance the solidarity and prosperity of the nationalities.

However, 'independence' would not be tolerated; nor would 'semi-independence' or 'independence in disguise' be acceptable.

The fundamental issue of the unification of the motherland is absolutely non-negotiable [rin thang gong 'grig med].

The central government's policy is summed up by the phrase: 'No questions about past actions and never too early or too late for patriotism' [sngar byas la rtsad chod med rgyal gces la snga phyi med].

Question 4

What are the four cardinal devotions ['du shes, lit. class consciousness] to be assimilated by the monk and nun population?

Answer:

- Devotion to the Motherland [mes rgyal]
- Devotion to the Government [srid gzhang]
- Devotion to the Law [bca' khrims]
- Devotion to Citizenship [spyi dmangs, Chinese gongmin]

Question 5:

What are the fundamental points of the Party's policy of freedom of religious belief?

Answer: All citizens [spyi dmangs] have the right to believe in religion as well as the right not to believe in religion; the right to believe in this religious tradition or that religious tradition; former non-religious practitioners have the right to believe in and practise religion and, likewise, former religious practitioners have the right to cease believing and practising religion.

Question 6:

What are normal religious practices and what are Irreligious practices?

Answer:

- Saying prayers, doing prostrations and reciting scriptural texts, burning incense, attending religious teachings and celebrating religious festivals are all normal religious practices.
- Actions prompted by ignorance and superstition that undermine the interest of the State and the life and property of the people are examples of irreligious practice.

Question 7:

What are the aims of the Party's Implementation of the policy of freedom of religious belief and strengthening the supervision of religious activities in accordance with the law?

Answer: To give guidance and leadership [khrid ston] to the adaptation ['tshams pa] of religion to the socialist system.

Question 8:

What are the five characteristics [rang bzhin] of religion in our socialist system?

Answer: They are:

- long established
- democratic
- ethnic [mi rigs rang bzhin]
- complex
- international

Question 9:

What examples are there of peaceful co-existence between China and Tibet since the beginning of the 7th century A.D.?

Answer: The unification of the Tibet plateau region by Songtsen Gampo and the establishment of a unified political authority [gcig gyur gyi srid dbang] coincided with the beginning of the prosperous and powerful political authority of the Tang dynasty [thang rgyal rabs] in Central China [rgya nag dbus].

Firm friendship and cordial relations were established between the two.

Question 10:

What examples are there of the existence of friendly and cordial relations between China and Tibet in the 6th century A.D.?

Answer: In 634 A.D. Songtsen Gampo sent an emissary to the court of the Tang Emperor asking for the hand of the Princess to be his Queen. Since then, Sino-Tibetan relations started de facto [dngos su], and in 641 Princess Wu Shen Kong Jo [n shing kong jo] of the Tang dynasty was welcomed to Tibet as the bride of King Songtsen Gampo. As part of the matrimonial offerings [skal rdzongs su], the Princess brought a statue of Jowo Shakya Mune, precious stones [rin po che'i rigs] and scriptures for which Songtsen Gampo had a temple especially built. Since then, the practice of religious prayers and offerings began which continues to this day, in front of the same statue of Jowo, the object of reverence and faith of all, enshrined in the Tsuglagkhang in Lhasa.

Question 11:

How did Tibet become a part of China?

Answer: After the collapse of the southern empire [sung lho ma'i] of the foreign rule of Kublai Khan [phis hu bi li se chen rgyal po], the long standing good relations between the nationalities served as a foundation for the establishment of the unprecedented and unified political authority of the Yuan dynasty, and since then Tibet also came to be a de facto part of China.

Question 12:

How did the Qing Emperor help to end [zhong 'ja] the repressive rule of the Mongol Jungar in Tibet?

Answer: The Government of China under the Qing Emperor had, with courage and commitment, driven out the foreign powers and rebellious elements [ngo logs zings 'khrugs pa] in order to protect the peace and security of the Tibet region, as part of our country. Law and order was restored in society. Only then did the Tibetan people manage to enjoy a life of peace and security with the backing of the Government of China. These facts are self-evident.

Question 13:

What separatist activities have the Dalai clique instigated?

Answer: The main separatist activities are: a. instigating the violent rebellion of

1959.

b. the establishment of a Government in exile and the establishment of a force to instigate rebellion and disturbances. [ngo logs zing 'khrugs kyi drag shug sgrigs btsugs byas pa]

c. seeking the refuge of the western inimical powers to promote clandestinely ['byams bshad] the idea of Tibetan independence in international fora through a propaganda of lies, thereby damaging the international reputation and image of our country.

d. intensifying the effort to infiltrate areas within the TAR to plan and instigate disturbances, sabotaging the search for and recognition of the reincarnation of the 10th Panchen Rinpoche, and engaging in intimidatory activities.

Question 14:

Who is the chief backer of the Dalai clique? Without backing, could the Dalai clique survive?

Answer: The Dalai clique assiduously seeks the support and backing of the Western capitalists. Without Western support, there is no way the Dalai clique could survive.

Question 15:

How long had the Central Government of China waited patiently for the Dalai before stripping him of his position as a Vice-Chairman of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China? [rgyal uyongs ml dmangs 'thus tshogs rgyu aus kyi au yon gzhon pa] go gnas?

Answer: Until 1964.

Question 16:

In all his successive religious teachings, what main point does the Dalai include in the main discourse?

Answer: So called "Tibetan independence".

Question 17:

What is the position of Tibet vis a vis the fundamental interests of the nationalities of the People's Republic of China?

Answer: There are two points:

a. From the overall strategic perspective [thabs jus hril po'i thog nas bltas na] the peace and security of Tibet is linked to the sovereignty as well as the peace and security of the State. [rgyal khab]

b. The issues of the stability, peace and security, and development of Tibet are matters that can only be addressed from within the great family of the motherland.

Question 18:

What is the nature of the struggle between us and the Dalai clique?

Answer: The main issues are neither the question of religious belief or non-belief, nor is it the question of autonomy. The issue of discord between us and the inimical forces is all about the protection of the unity of the motherland and opposition to the separatists. Moreover, at this point in time it is also a reflection of the nature of the class struggle in Tibet. [bod kyi dgr (sic) rim 'thab rtsod kyi geig sdud mngon tshul].

Question 19:

What kind of person should be entrusted with leadership responsibility and authority in the monasteries?

Answer: Leadership responsibility and authority in the monasteries should definitely be entrusted to monks and nuns who are genuine, law-abiding patriots.

Question 20:

Within what legal parameters [gtan 'bebs] should religious activities be conducted?

Answer: Religious activities must definitely be conducted within the parameters set by the Constitution and the [relevant] legal provisions.

Question 21:

What is the reason for the propagation of and education about the legal system in the monasteries?

Answer: The propagation and education about the legal system among the monks and nuns is a vital aspect of the effort to deepen the knowledge and awareness of the rule of law [khrims lugs] among the people of the various nationalities in our Autonomous Region [rang ljongs].

It is also a necessary and vital political duty, and the monk and nun population at large should study and improve their knowledge and understanding about law and continually enhance their awareness of law and legal ideology. This could be achieved through self-understanding by being a model in terms of speech and action. One should be able to exercise self-judgement as to what action is right and what action is wrong. And likewise, one should also be aware of the rights of the people as well as the duties of the people.

Question 22:

Why is it said that the Constitution is the highest law of the country?

Answer: The Constitution is the basic law of the country upon which are based other

legal rulings and provisions. As the foundation of all laws and a reference point, the Constitution has the highest authority.

Question 23:

What fundamental rights and duties are enshrined in the Constitution for the citizens of our country?

Answer: The rights and freedoms provided in the Constitution can be exercised by citizens.

The Fundamental Rights are:

- right to equality
- right to political freedom [*chab srid dbang cha'i rang dbang*]
- right to religious freedom
- right to life [*mi lus kyi rang dbang*]
- right to criticise, make proposals for discussion [*gros char don pa*], making representations of one's case, [*gnas lugs zhu ba*], make appeals to courts or pointing out culprits [*ther 'don byed pa*], and obtain compensation for losses [*skyin tshab lngan pa*].
- right to a share in the social economy [*spyi tshogs dpal 'byor gyi dbang cha*]

- right to education
- protection of the rights and benefits of the women of the country [*rgyal khab kyi bud med dbang cha dang khe phan*]
- right to protection of the State for married families, the elderly, the pregnant [*bd med brums ba*]

The duties of citizens are :

- the defence and protection of the unity of the country and the solidarity of the nationalities
- respect and defend the Constitution and the Basic Laws, thoroughly safeguard state secrets, care for public property, respect for the Labour Laws [*ngal risol gyi sgrig lam la srung brtsi*], respect for public discipline, and respect for the general moral behaviour of society [*spyi tshogs kyi spyi'i spyod bzang la brtsi 'jog*]
- defence and protection of the security [*hdan* (sic) '*jag*] and name, fame and interests [*mtshan snyan khe phan*] of the country
- the defence and protection of the motherland, and in accordance with the law, voluntary enlistment to the people's

militia [*yul dmag*]

- the duty to work through labour is a glorious duty and responsibility of all workers endowed with the strength to work
- to pay taxes as provided in the Constitution, and
- the duty to implement the family planning programme

Question 24:

What constitutes a "crime"

Answer: Committing a "crime" means:

- any action or behaviour that is offensive and harmful to society,
- any action or behaviour that violates the criminal law, and
- any action or behaviour that deserves to be punished. [*nyes chad spyod dgos pa'i rigs kyi bya spyod sogs*]

By the Patriotic Education Programme Work Team in Yardoe, Nedong County [*sne sdong rdzong*]

Dated 25 May 1997

Document 8: Questions and Answers for Study

The following document was distributed to the monks of a small monastery in Ngamring county (Shigatse prefecture) during the Patriotic Education campaign conducted there. The document, dated August 1997, is a model paper of "criticising the Dalai clique" and summarises the "main tasks, publicity materials and course content of the Patriotic Education Programme and Establishment of Normal Discipline at the monastery". The document, "Selections Edited In Questions and Answer Format for Study", is from TAR Dissemination Document No. 6 and Shigatse Dissemination Document No 22. [TIN Ref 31(VT)]

Summary of the main tasks, publicity materials and course content of the Patriotic Education Programme and Establishment of Normal Discipline at [name withheld] Monastery.

[Dated] August 1997

Selections edited in question and answer format for study, from the TAR Dissemination [*spe*] Document No. 6 (1996) and the Shigatse Dissemination Document No. 22 (1996).

Question 1:

What is the necessity and importance of introducing the Patriotic Education programme and reform through investigation in the monasteries?

Answer: The introduction of the Patriotic Education programme and establishment of normal discipline [*rgyun srol ltar gyi sgrig lam*] is a necessary and vital part of our duty in our current stage of struggle against the separatists.

Fundamentally, the issue boils down to whether or not the unity of the motherland can be defended, whether or not the Communist Party of China can continue to provide leadership to Tibet, and whether or not the people of Tibet can, under the leadership of the Communist Party within

the great motherland, follow the basic path shown by the Party to establish a socialist system with Chinese characteristics, shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the country. These are the main issues at stake.

Question 2:

What are the guiding principles of conducting the Patriotic Education programme and reform through investigations in the monasteries?

Answer: Taking the following as our guidelines:

- Comrade Deng Xiaoping's guiding principles about the establishment of a socialist system with Chinese characteristics, and

- the direction, strategies and national laws, and the various guiding documents [*srol yig*] issued by the Central Government, the State Council, the TAR Party Central Committee and the Government of the TAR, in order to:
- wholeheartedly fulfill the Party's religious policy and consolidate the management of the monasteries in accordance with the provisions of the law;
- assiduously work hard to promote the level of knowledge and understanding of the monks about patriotism and socialism;
- encourage resolute opposition to the separatists;
- cleanse the political environment of the monasteries by investigating and ridding the monasteries of the foul infiltrations of

the Dalai Clique;

- cleanse the religious population [*chos lugs kyi dpung sde*];
- establish normal religious discipline by carefully resolving the authority of the monastic leadership; and
- defend the dignity and authority of the law, the people's interests, the unity of the motherland and the solidarity of the nationalities in order to render the current religious traditions compatible with the socialist society.

Question 3:

What are the main criteria and targets of the Patriotic Education programme and investigation and reform in the monasteries?

Answer: The main criteria and targets are the realisation of the Four Goals:

1. Punishing the separatists and expelling monks who disregard the law,
2. entrusting the authority of the leadership of the monasteries to monks and nuns who are genuinely patriotic and religious as well as being both law abiding and being able to defend the law,
3. Promoting normal religious practice sanctioned by the law and policy edicts [*bcu' khrims dang srid jus*], and introducing disciplinary measures to restrain the behaviour and activities of the monks, and,
4. making the monks and nuns responsible for themselves in abiding by the religious as well as the monastic disciplines and [being] genuine patriots and religious persons through the Patriotic Education programme.

Question 4:

What are the main duties regarding the Patriotic Education programme and reform through investigation?

Answer: There are four main duties:

1. establishing and consolidating the system of the Democratic Management Committee of the monasteries in order to entrust the authority of the monastic leadership to people who are genuinely patriotic and religious,
2. through intellectual reforms, making each and every monk and nun criticise wholeheartedly the Dalai clique, thus distinguishing them clearly from the Dalai clique followers, both in their thoughts and politics,
3. reforming the (religious) personnel [*dpung khag*] to mete out punishment of the handful of splittists, and
4. reforming discipline to make religious and monastic disciplines more rigorous.

Question 5:

What are the common criteria necessary for one to be a member of the Democratic Management Committee of a monastery [*dgon sde'i dmangs bdag tshan pa*]?

Answer: There are five qualifying criteria:

1. responsibility for one's duties and respect for national laws [?not clear];
2. defending the unity of the motherland and the solidarity of the nationalities; resolute opposition to the separatists; voluntary acceptance of the leadership of the local Party Committee and government; and being able to promptly report important news and information to the local Party Committee and government,
3. to be able to implement thoroughly, without error, the Party's religious policy and other laws and legal provisions and strategies [*khrims lugs dang khrims srol srid jus k'ag lag bstar byed*],
4. possessing a relatively high level of religious knowledge and understanding, and being well known both in and outside the monastery,
5. being able to exercise economic management, reform ... [not clear] being able to raise the level of [not clear], being committed to the management tasks of the monastery, hard working, possessing supervisory skills, being honest and enjoying the trust of the monk population of the monastery.

Question 6:

What are the common criteria required... [? not clear]

Answer: The common criteria required are:

1. to be a member of the Democratic Management committee,
2. have knowledge of politics as well as religion,
3. have knowledge of economics as well as management [economic],
4. be patriotic and law abiding as well as being a devout religious person, and
5. there should be members who are elderly as well as members who are young.

Question 7:

What kind of a person is the Dalai?

Answer: The Dalai is a man who secretly worked for Tibetan independence, the head of the separatist gang, a real tool of the international forces opposed to China, and a source of all the disturbances caused in Tibetan society. He is also a major obstacle on the path of establishing normal religious discipline in Tibetan Buddhism.

Question 8:

What are the aims of the Patriotic Education programme and reform through investigation in the monasteries?

Answer: The current reforms through investigation [*gtsang shes* (sic)] programme does not represent a change in our religious policy. Our religious policy needs no change at all. The reason for the reforms [*sptod* (sic) *sgrig*] in the monasteries is to ensure the thorough and effective implementation of the Party's religious policy, rather than [there] being untruthful statements [*khyog bshad*], defending the promotion of the Buddha dharma and preventing its misuse by the separatists.

Question 9:

What do we mean by the policy of religious freedom?

Answer: [It means] the freedom of religious belief for citizens as well as the right not to believe in religion. They have the freedom to believe in this religious tradition or that religious tradition. Likewise, they have the freedom to believe in the religious principles of this religion or that religion. This is what we call the policy of religious freedom of the Communist Party of China.

Question 10:

What restrictions are there in the practice of religion?

Answer: No one is allowed to misuse religion to undermine the leadership of the Party [*gtang* (sic) *gi go khrid* (sic)], oppose the socialist system to undermine the unity of the motherland, the stability of society and the solidarity of the nationalities; no-one must cause harm to the common interest of society; [one must] prevent and being on guard against people who exploit religious sentiments and activities to cause disturbances and prompt criminal activities, and resolutely oppose and thwart intellectual infiltration [*sens* (sic) *'dzul*] by external forces using the vehicle of religion.

Question 11:

What is so called "Tibetan independence"?

Answer: In the ultimate analysis, so-called "Tibetan independence" is a creation of the imperialist forces with the evil hope and aim of dismembering the People's Republic of China. Since Tibet was incorporated and ruled by the Yuan Dynasty, successive Chinese Governments have at all stages exercised ownership rights [*bdag dbang*] and so the

Tibet region had never become an independent country. The so called rumour of "Tibetan independence" instigated by the Dalai Clique and forces opposed to China is the product [*thon dngos*] of imperialist attacks on China in our recent history.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the word "independence" [*rang btsan*] did not feature in the Tibetan dictionary. After the Opium wars, China was turned into a country of semi-expansionism and the imperialists took advantage of the weakness of the Qing dynasty to implement the secret policy of dividing up China into smaller entities.

The British imperialists launched two direct assaults in 1888 and 1903 respectively and forced two unequal treaty agreements at the point of bayonets to forcibly occupy Chinese territories and brazenly claim various special rights. Moreover, rubbing salt in the wounds, the British imperialists made plans to separate Tibet from China. For example, on 31 August 1907, the Anglo-Russian Treaty Agreement was signed to support the idea that the Tibet region of China was unjustly altered to "nominal suzerainty" [*bdag po'i dbang cha*].

In 1912, the British asked the Chinese Foreign Office not to accept the "Five Points" relating to China's suzerain rights over Tibet [*krung go'i bod kyi bdag dbang thad kyi 'don tshan lng' khas mi nen rgyu*].

In 1913, the British Government once again, instigating the Tibetan authorities to declare "independence", convened the "Simla Convention", where the British Plenipotentiary used the phrase "Tibetan independence" for the first time.

In 1942, with the support of the British representative, the local Tibetan government wantonly announced the establishment of the "Foreign Office" to brazenly launch "Tibetan independence" activities.

In 1942, secret plans were made to invite Tibetan Representatives to the meeting of the whole world [League of Nations?].

In 1949, Lowell Thomas Jr., the American wireless reporter, came to Tibet on behalf of the CIA [*ha' hreng tun*] to explore possibilities of helping the Tibetans. Moreover, he published articles in American newspapers and periodicals that the US Government was about to recognise "Tibet as an independent country".

In early 1950, a consignment of US arms and ammunitions was transferred to Tibet and used for defensive attacks

against the PLA forces entering Tibet. On 1 November that year, the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson [*a'e chi shun*] brazenly declared the liberation of Tibet by China as an "invasion" [*btsan 'dzul*] and vilified China. The same month, the Americans instigated other countries to raise questions in the United Nations in order to interfere in the matter of China's Tibet.

The above facts make it clear that so-called "Tibetan independence" is a complete product of old and new imperialists who harboured the evil desire to forcibly snatch Tibet. In spite of such facts, so far, there has not been a single country that recognises "Tibetan independence".

Question 12: How do the Dalai clique conduct separatist activities?

Answer: Since escaping into exile, the Dalai has never done anything beneficial, either for the development of Tibetan society and economy or for the Tibetan people and Tibetan Buddhism. Instead, he has launched numerous activities to split the motherland such as:

- spreading the rumour that "Tibet is an independent country",
- establishing a "Government in exile",
- reorganising the revolutionary forces and establishing the "Four Rivers, Six Ranges Volunteer Forces" in Mustang, Nepal in 1960, and launching guerrilla raids into the border areas for over ten years,
- deliberately causing a rift in the relationship between the nationalities and instigating the people of Tibet to rise in revolt [*ngo rgol*] against the Chinese government by spreading rumours to denigrate China, hatching plots to cause instability, and ignoring facts to falsely claim that "China has massacred over 1.2 million Tibetans", "Tibetans are being rendered into a minority nationality due to population transfer of Chinese into Tibet", "Danger of the extermination of Tibetan national traditions and culture" and so on.

Between September 1987 and March 1989, the many disturbances in Lhasa were caused by people instigated by the Dalai clique and counter-revolutionaries sent back into Tibet.

Question 13: What should be our position and stance in respect of our struggle against the Dalai clique?

Answer: Our position and stance in our struggle against the Dalai clique is that Tibet is an inalienable part of China, and

we should be prepared to engage in a long drawn-out struggle by making clear our position and preparedness for war [*mdung rise kh sprod*] on the issue. We should lay the foundations now, consolidate our work and perform the various tasks inside the TAR with meticulous efficiency, and engage in an international struggle to win greater international awareness to destroy the Dalai clique. Therefore, since facts and the truth are on our side, we must, through our own initiative and enthusiasm, continue the struggle against the Dalai clique, imbued with the "Pride of the Truthful" and speaking the clear words of truth" [*bden can spobs che don drang tshing nan*].

Question 14: What is the policy of the Communist Party [*krung dbyang*] towards the Dalai?

Answer: The position of the Communist Party of China is that if he acknowledges the fact of Tibet being an inalienable part of China, completely eschews the desire for "Tibetan independence" and ceases activities aimed at splitting the motherland, he would be welcome to return to the motherland and contribute to the tasks of promoting the unity of the motherland and the solidarity and prosperity of the nationalities.

However, "semi-independence" will not be tolerated, nor would the idea of "independence in disguise" be tolerated. There is no room for negotiation on the question of the sovereignty of the motherland.

Question 15: How can we understand the true face/nature [*gdong ris ngo ma*] of the Dalai Lama?

Answer: Since escaping into exile in 1959, the Dalai and his clique have turned into a separatist clique harbouring the evil hope of Tibetan independence, and a handy tool of the international forces opposed to China. Moreover, the Dalai, wearing the garb of a religious leader, has promoted numerous reactionary activities in clear violation of the religious laws and in contradiction to the essence of religious teachings. So-called "Tibetan independence", "a high degree of autonomy", "Greater Tibet" etc. are all rumours spread by the Dalai.

The true import of these statements is opposition to the Communist Party, non-acceptance of the socialist system and a desire to topple the People's Government, split the motherland and sabotage the solidarity of the nationalities with the evil hope of resurrecting the rule of the Three

Great Lords [*mnga' bdag chen po gsum*] in Tibet, turning Tibet into a dark society of exploited serfs ruled by feudal landlords and a target for foreign expansionism.

Question 16:

What are the Five Fundamental Principles enunciated by the Communist Party and the State Council in respect of the search and recognition of the reincarnation of the Panchen Rinpoche?

Answer: In July 1993, during the Second Meeting about the Search and Recognition of the Reincarnation of the Panchen Rinpoche, Lukon [*lu a'o kon*] secretary of the National State Council [*rgyal don au yon rgyal srid spyi khyab khang*] enunciated, on behalf of the Communist Party of China and the National State Council, the following Five Principles to guide the search and recognition process:

- continuation of the fundamental principle of patriotism,
- continuation of the fundamental principle of responsibility of the Tashi Lhunpo monastery,
- continuation of the fundamental principle of searching and recognising the reincarnation from within the country,
- continuation of the fundamental principle of seeking the approval of the Communist Party of China, and
- continuation of the fundamental principle of enthronement ceremony and upbringing at Tashi Lhunpo Monastery.

Question 17:

What fundamental principles must we follow with respect to the reincarnation of the Panchen Rinpoche?

Answer: With regard to the search and recognition of the reincarnation of the Panchen Rinpoche, religious rituals and customs [*chos kyi cho ga*] and historical traditions must be continued.

We must continue to maintain the fundamental principle that the Panchen wantonly recognised and publicised by the Dalai is totally illegal and ineffective.

The fundamental principle of determining the reincarnation of the Panchen Rinpoche by the Golden Urn lottery method must be continued.

The principle of seeking the approval of the Communist Party of China to confirm the reincarnation of the Panchen Rinpoche is a necessity, and the principle of using the "Golden Urn Method" is a fundamental principle to be upheld.

Question 18:

What were the late Panchen Rinpoche's thoughts about his reincarnation?

Answer: On 24 January 1989, on the occasion of a religious conference of representatives from five provinces and autonomous regions, the late Panchen Rinpoche remarked, while commenting on the issue of reincarnations,

"In my opinion, determining the reincarnation by taking recourse to the Golden Urn method in the presence of the Jowo Shakya Mune, would be the best option. That's because Jowo Shakya Mune is an object of faith for everyone, and in case of errors being discovered, Jowo Shakya Mune could be invited to intercede. I believe that a joint decision reached through agreement between Jowo Shakya Mune and myself, would be the best option."

Question 19:

What historical achievements could be credited to the 10th Panchen Rinpoche?

Answer: The 10th Panchen Rinpoche, Panchen Erdini Choekyi Gyaltsen, was a great patriot, a famous statesman, a true and dedicated friend of the Communist Party of China, Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee of the 7th National People's Congress, Honorary [*ishad 'dzin*] President of the Buddhist Association of China and an outstanding leader of Tibetan Buddhism. Throughout his life, Panchen Rinpoche lived the life of a true patriot and religious person who defended the unity of the motherland, promoted the solidarity of the nationalities and strongly promoted the spread of Tibetan Buddhism, which are all historical contributions.

Question 20:

What is the reason for saying that the Dalai's wanton recognition and announcement of the reincarnation of the Panchen is both illegal and ineffective?

Answer: The announcement of the reincarnation of the Panchen Rinpoche by the Dalai violates religious traditions and contradicts the rules of precedence established historically, it goes against the wishes of the late Panchen Rinpoche and it is in contradiction to the policy and strategy of the Communist Party of China with respect to the issue of the reincarnation of the Panchen Rinpoche.

In light of the above, his announcement

is illegal and ineffective and as such, we will never accept [his choice].

Question 21:

What are the main points of the two hand-written inscriptions presented by the National President and Chairman Jiang Zemin to the religious functionaries of Tibet on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the founding of the TAR and the enthronement ceremony of the 11th Panchen Rinpoche?

Answer: They are:

a. "Love your Country and Love your Religion, Progress through Solidarity" [*rgyal gces chos gces mthun bsgril yar thon*] and

b. "Administer the Country to Benefit Sentient Beings" [*rgyal skyong 'gro phan*].

Question 22:

What are the basic criteria/ principles guiding our actions?

Answer: In our country, every citizen, organisation and religious tradition must defend the dignity and authority of the law, defend the interests of the people, defend the solidarity of the nationalities and defend the unity of the motherland. No one should violate the laws of the country, cause harm to the interests of the people, or engage in acts that split the nationalities, sabotage the unification of the motherland etc. These are the fundamental criteria/ principles guiding our actions.

Question 23:

What were the wishes of the 10th Panchen Rinpoche when he was alive?

Answer: His fervent wishes [*thugs 'dun*] were the unification of the motherland, solidarity of the nationalities, the happiness of the people, the spread and progress of Buddhism, and world peace. These were his recurrent themes.

Question 24:

What are Four Loves for which the 10th Panchen Rinpoche worked with great enthusiasm?

Answer: He dedicated himself for several decades and constantly focussed on the themes of love for the Communist Party of China, love for the socialist motherland, love for one's own nationality and love for the religious traditions of one's own faith and belief.

Document 9: Examination Paper

The following is a translation of the examination paper given to Sera monks at the end of the Patriotic Education sessions in the monastery. [TIN Ref 9(TF)]

Examination Questions

1. Tibet has an established history of more than _____ years since becoming a part of China.

2. The country's Constitution and basic laws are _____. No organisations or individual is allowed to carry out any _____.

3. During the course of the Patriotic Education programme in the monasteries, monks and _____ have been asked to follow three vital principles. They are the principles of _____, _____ and _____.

4. The Agreement between the People's Republic of China and the local government of Tibet for the peaceful

liberation of Tibet was signed in Beijing on _____ (date) _____ (month) _____ (year) A.D. It contained a total of _____ Articles.

5. At Sera monastery, during the Patriotic Education programme and the establishment of normal discipline, the monks were given _____ books for study. The books you have read are _____ and _____.

6. So far, the Work Committee has called _____ general meetings of all the monks and nuns in the main Assembly Hall of Sera Monastery. The key points of these meetings were: _____, _____, _____ and _____.

7. During the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Tibet Autonomous Region, the country's Chairman, Jiang Zemin, gave a brocade banner to every monastery in Tibet. The inscriptions on the banner are _____. The banner given to Sera monastery is hoisted at _____.

8. Can you wholeheartedly denounce the splittists and work for the defence of the unity of the ancestral nation? (Yes / No)

9. Can you promise that, henceforth, you will never get involved in any splittist activities, including demonstrations and disturbances? (Yes / No)

C: Posters

Document 10: Poster from Sakya Monastery

The following is a translation of a handwritten poster (in Tibetan), dated 2 September 1996, and put up at Sakya Monastery in Shigatse prefecture by the Local Work Committee during the Patriotic Education sessions conducted at the monastery. The poster is an attack on the splittist activities conducted by the "Dalai clique", which it says are the main factors causing instability in the TAR. [TIN Ref 10(VH)]

We must struggle relentlessly to protect social stability and oppose splittism. The question of the stability of Tibet is a precondition for the economic development of Tibet. Without stability we cannot achieve anything. It is also a very important factor for the reform and development of the whole country. Even though our region is stable, in general, there are still causes of instability. The main cause of instability in our region is the splittist activities of the Dalai clique.

In recent years, the Dalai clique has

been organising wider programmes of splittist actions. By seeking the support of hostile forces in the west, they have tried to transform the Tibet issue into an international affair. On the other hand, they have also tried to cause disruption in the other Tibetan-inhabited areas. They have also given recognition to many reincarnated lamas and through this they are trying to control the masses. They recruit monks, members of the public and even some of our officials and deceive them, and after sending them to be trained

abroad they send them back to Tibet. They also used many other methods, such as joining the army and using weapons to prepare to overthrow the Communists. They have organised many riots and are still expanding their network to mount splittist activities and riots. They also try to instigate such things in the nomadic and agricultural areas.

Local Work Committee
2 September 1996

Document 11: Poster from Sakya Monastery

The following is a translation of a handwritten poster [in Tibetan], dated 2 September 1996, and put up at Sakya monastery in Shigatse prefecture by the Patriotic Education work team. [TIN Ref 11(VH)]

What is our position concerning the struggle with the Dalai clique?

Answer: Our position concerning the struggle with the Dalai clique is to demonstrate our clear stand that Tibet is an inseparable part of China. To destroy the Dalai clique splittists, we must be consistent in confronting the Dalai clique and prepare

for a long running struggle. We must also strengthen the current foundations to enhance the management of our work. We must efficiently carry out the region's internal tasks and effectively carry out international struggle so as to raise greater international awareness. Truth and justice are on our side, and we must be energetic,

self-motivated, truthful, proud, accurate and articulate in our fight to destroy the splittist clique of the Dalai.

From the Work Team [literally, Work Affairs Committee] residing at the two monasteries.
2 September 1996

D: Monastery Passes

Document 12: Account of the Issuing of monastery passes

On completion of the Patriotic Education course, only those monks and nuns who are deemed to have passed the Patriotic Education tests are allowed to remain officially at their monastery or nunnery and are issued with a temporary permit by the Patriotic Education work team to indicate this. The following is a translation of an account, given by a monk, of the procedures that are followed and the conditions that a monk must satisfy in order to qualify for a second, more permanent, permit one year after the issuing of the first permit. [TIN Ref 41(VG)]

The monks and nuns in the Tibetan monastery in Tibet are being issued with special permits, one blue and the other one red, by the Chinese government. Before they issue such permits, one has to study hard the three books listed below and a fourth book, like the way Mao's thoughts had to be studied.

The blue permit is being issued before the red one. The blue permit denotes that the holder, whether a monk or nun, is under trial and observation for one year. The holder must report to the police station once every month. If the holder does not get into trouble (splittist activities), then he/she is declared a patriot and

granted the red permit. Before [becoming eligible for] the issue of the permits the following books have to be studied:

1. TAR Document No 1: The proclamation and explanation about the Patriotic Education programme in the monasteries of the region [TAR]; "The Proclamation and Brief Explanation of Tibetan History." Published in June 1996 by the Office for the Propagation of Patriotic Education in All the Monasteries of the TAR.

2. TAR Document No 2. Proclamation and Explanation on Anti-Splittist campaign. Published: as above

3. TAR Document No 3: Proclamation and Explanation on providing Legal Knowledge.

4. The fourth one has not been distributed yet.

The above books were published in June 1996 by the Office for the Propagation of Patriotic Education in all the Monasteries of the TAR.

The books must be returned to the state when the study period is over.

Document 13: Red Pass

When the work teams leave the monasteries monks who are deemed to have passed the Patriotic Education tests are issued red passes which allow them to remain officially in the monastery. The following is a translation of a pass given to a monk from Dranang in Lhokha prefecture. [TIN Ref 39(VG)]

To guarantee the quality of monks and nuns enrolling for the sanctioned strengths for the monasteries, thorough vetting and registration must be carried out.

1) Those monks and nuns who voluntarily apply to join the monastery community must be patriotic, law abiding and devoted to religion. They must respect religious codes and the monastic discipline. The applicant must, first of all, not only submit a written application, but also must find a teacher to guarantee his/her character, and a teacher willing to teach him the scriptures.

2) When the Democratic Management Committee receives the application, it must investigate the applicant's purpose and reason for joining the monastery. Likewise, the applicant's character and behaviour must also be checked carefully.

3) The guarantor teacher and the scripture teacher must take responsibility for advising their charge about his/her

behaviour, religious codes and monastic discipline. The teachers must also take responsibility for their disciples being patriotic and devoted to religion.

4) When the above conditions are met and within one year's period of trial and investigation, those applicant who are deemed to be suitable to join the community, must write three copies of applications countersigned by the guarantor teacher and the scriptural teacher. After that if the Democratic Management Committee must seek approval from the Religious Affairs Department, provided the sanctioned strength of the monastery is not filled. After the standard certificate is issued, the applicant will be regarded as a bona-fide member of the organisation.

5) The monks and nuns enrolled as per the sanctioned strength of the monastery are entitled to all the rights and privileges of a citizen. Conversely, one must fulfil all obligations as citizen as well.

6) In the event of a violation of religious code or monastic discipline by a monk or nun enrolled as per the sanctioned strength, the punishment will be commensurate with the severity of the offence, in the form of advice, final warning or dismissal from the monastery and confiscation of the registration certificate.

7) If a Tibetan returning from overseas expresses the wish to join a monastery, he/she must, first of all, fulfil all the conditions of permanent settlement prescribed in the rule governing overseas Tibetan returnees. After that they must go through the standard procedure of joining a monastery.

8) The monks/nuns who are fully-fledged members of a monastery have the right to withdraw from the monastery. Those who withdraw must follow the departure procedure and return to their native place.

3. Accounts of the Patriotic Education Campaign

It is clear from comments made by officials in the TAR that they consider the campaign to be a success. Ragdi, in his comments made on 13 May 1998 relating to the government work report for 1997, stated: "...People's mental outlook has undergone a great change...We have now fully implemented the Party's policy on religion. Normal religious activities are protected by the law. The broad masses of people of religious circles are free from anxiety and wholeheartedly support our Party's policy on religion. Conducting education on patriotism at temples and monasteries and the establishment of normal order have played a great role in promoting stability in Tibet."

This section will provide some accounts of the implementation of the campaign from the perspective of the monks and nuns. To put these accounts into context, let us consider how the campaign developed in Drepung monastery. Patriotic Education began there in the first week of August 1996, and was due to reach its conclusion in early November. A number of monks left the monastery and

travelled to India rather than complete the education session, while others staged protests in the monastery or put up posters and were arrested by the police. In one case, a monk who contested the view presented of Tibetan history was detained and reportedly received a three-year sentence. Monks who remained at Drepung had to sit written examinations; although it is not known if the work team insisted on the monks completing all the questions in the examination paper. A report in the official Tibetan newspapers in December 1996 makes it clear that the authorities had used the Patriotic Education period to re-structure the administration of the monastery. This restructuring not only comprised the appointment of exclusively "patriotic" monks to positions on the Drepung Monastery Democratic Management Committee, but also the renaming of that committee as the Drepung Monastery Management Committee. This suggests that elections will no longer be required to form the committee. Other reports indicate that at both Drepung and Sera lay

officials have been given the position of leaders of the new committees, which previously consisted only of monks.

In the first account given here (Document 14), a monk gives a detailed description of the meetings, the arrests, the suicide of an older monk and the changes which were made in the Democratic Management Committee of his monastery in Namling county, Shigatse prefecture, in 1996. The monk also states that measurement and registration of the property of the monastery was carried out. In Document 15, a monk from Pelbar county in Chamdo Prefecture describes the Patriotic Education sessions which took place in his monastery. In Document 16, a monk describes how his monastery was closed for four months during the Patriotic Education sessions, during which time some 100 monks were expelled. Document 17 provides an account by a monk of Patriotic Education sessions conducted at his monastery in Chamdo, Kham.

Document 14

The following is an account of the Patriotic Education work conducted at a monastery in Namling county, Shigatse prefecture, given by a monk from the monastery. A 20 strong Patriotic Education work team arrived at the monastery on the 13th day of the 5th Tibetan month 1996 and Patriotic Education of the monks started two days later. The monk describes the various stages of the Patriotic Education campaign as it evolved in the monastery. The monk also provides an account of the expulsion of monks aged under 15 from the monastery and the appointment of a new head of the monastery's "Democratic Management Committee" by the Patriotic Education work team. The sub headings in square brackets have been added for ease of reference by TIN. [TIN Ref 118(JW): edited extracts]

Historically our monastery was a Kagyupa monastery and it was converted into a Gelugpa monastery at the time of the 5th Dalai Lama. I heard that our monastery was a huge and spacious one and that there were more than 800 monks and lots of monastic rooms before the Chinese invasion of Tibet. After [the Cultural Revolution] there were almost no monastic rooms left, only enough for 4 monks. Since 1984 the monastery has been reconstructed.

The biggest problem faced by our monastery started on the 13th day of the 5th month [Tibetan calendar] of last year [1996] when the work team came to our

monastery to launch the Patriotic Education campaign. The work team included 18 people from Shigatse and some officials from the township [shang] administration. In total there were 20 officials and the Patriotic Education sessions started 2 days after their arrival on the 13th of the 5th Tibetan month. All of the members of the work team were Tibetan except one Chinese who was from Shigatse.

When the work team arrived they asked if it was necessary for them to come to our monastery or not, and if so for what purpose. Some monks replied that it was great for them to come to improve the

monastery. But the work team said that it was not to make the monks perfect. They said, "Our purpose in coming is because of the Dalai Lama clique's activities to encourage people within Tibet to split the motherland. It is spoiling the brains of monks and nuns in the monasteries and continuously creating disorder and violence in society. So we have come here mainly to launch the Patriotic Education campaign in order to stop the spoiling of monks and nuns' brains and in order to maintain peace in society".

On that first day they only introduced the above-mentioned purpose, aims and objectives and then the meeting was over.

The meeting was about half an hour long and they said that they would start the education the next day, they would divide the monks into three groups and start by introducing the history of Tibet under China's sovereignty. They said that everyone must carefully study the education about Tibet's history.

The next day the meeting began at 3pm and they made three groups of monks. One group of monks was made up of those under the age of 15. Then they started to educate the monks on history and I think it was fake history and not true history. Their history mentioned that there was already a relationship between China and Tibet since the time of Tibet's King Songtsen Gampo, and that Tibet came under the sovereignty of China at the time of the Yuan dynasty. But I don't remember everything about the history education. They also distributed books among the monks. On the first day of the meeting of education they read out the history and distributed the books. And on the next day they appointed a zuzhang [leader] in each group and gave them history books and asked them to read it in front of the divided groups of monks and asked questions to each monk like: "Is Tibet a free country or under the sovereignty of China?"

The questions were asked by the officials. One official asked questions, one noted down things and another one listened to the questions and answers. The group leaders were appointed by the work team from among the monks. The meeting time was fixed from 3pm to 5pm daily but sometimes the meeting lasted after 5.30pm or 6pm. The work team held the education meetings for one month.

I did not say anything during the meetings. They tried to insist that I spoke out and even threatened to expel me from the monastery but I didn't say anything. They also threatened me with imprisonment.

[Monks below 15 expelled]

There were 95 monks when the work team came last year but 8 young monks who were below the age of 15 were expelled from the monastery and sent back to their respective homes in the villages. One young monk was allowed to stay in the monastery without regular admission because his ancestors were the sponsor of the monastery.

[Part two of the Patriotic Education drive: clean up of property]

The Patriotic Education meetings lasted slightly over one month, and then they

started the "clean-up". The first thing that had to be done was the property "clean-up", which involved the "cleaning-up" of photos of the Dalai Lama, all His long-life prayers, pictures of the young Panchen Lama and His long life prayers composed by His Holiness, the Dalai Lama. Then all tapes, books and newspapers sent from Tibetans in exile, and all the prayer scripts of the guardian deities written by His Holiness had to be "cleaned up". The mental "clean-up" meant: 1. Stopping the mental relationship with the Dalai Lama and 2. Promising to act against the Dalai Lama from the heart.

They said that it would take only a month to complete the clean up campaign but actually it lasted more than two months in our monastery.

At first they gave us one week to hand in the above-mentioned property, and then they said that if we didn't give all these things in and they were found later then the law would deal with us accordingly.

There was no-one who did not have pictures of the Dalai Lama. Some monks gave them two pictures, some monks gave them three pictures. Each monk gave them about one prayer script for the long life of the Panchen Lama written by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. After giving all these to the work team they still forced us to give more. They said that we still possessed more things, that we had not given them everything and that we must give them everything. But no-one gave them any more and so the work team summoned a meeting immediately and asked the monks questions, one after the other. But still no-one gave them a response so they sent one or two officials to each and every one's monastic room to ask the monks some questions. The senior monks didn't say anything to them. So they then began to deceive the younger monks, those who were about 11, 12 or 15 years old. They used money, cookies and even treated the little monks with their tea and daily food and took them to the restaurant and so on. As a result a lot of trouble was caused in the monastery.

All the monks gave the work team pictures of the Dalai Lama and I gave them two pictures of His Holiness with Tse-tshongkhapa [Tsongkhapa, founder of the Gelugpa tradition] and the late Panchen Lama. Afterwards two officials, a Tibetan from the Shigatse PSB office and an official from Namling county, came to my room and said that it was better if I gave them all the pictures of the Dalai Lama and his fake Panchen Lama, the prayer scripts written by the Dalai Lama and documents related to them. I

said that I didn't have anything and that I had already given them what I had.

[The third part of the Patriotic Education campaign: re-organisation]

The re-organisation started on the 15th of the 8th Tibetan month, 1996, approximately. When they started the reorganisation part of the campaign, they first reorganised the young monks who had to be expelled from the monastery. Nine monks were expelled. One was allowed to stay in the monastery because they said that his ancestors sponsored the monastery.

Secondly they re-organised the Democratic Management Committee of our monastery. Before the head of the Democratic Management Committee was the Ven. [name withheld]. When the work team came to the monastery he requested them to (be allowed to) resign from the post of head and they accepted. In his place they directly appointed one lay official, a Tibetan man from the county [shen] office. He was directly appointed by the work team and the work team said that from that day on every one in the monastery should follow and listen according to the orders and rules given by the newly appointed head. Under him the work team appointed three junior zhuren, three monks, and six managers [uyons]. In total the new Management Committee has ten members, and all the nine monks in it have to act according to the zhuren. This was the re-organisation.

Previously, the Democratic Management Committee had been appointed by the work team from the county administration. This time they appointed the members of the Committee according to the education they had received and according to the extent to which the work team was satisfied with the education of the individual monks. The work team said that they needed people who really understood the campaign for loving the nation and loving religion [Patriotic Education]. I don't know how many documents were in the monastery but I think that all the documents of the previous Democratic Management Committee were taken away by the work team.

After finishing the appointment of the new members of the Democratic Management Committee, the work team made rules and regulations of the monastery in writing. These written rules and regulations have two parts, one part is what to do and the other part is what is not to do.

In the second part, what not to do, it

was said that from that day onwards no-one should read out or chant the long life prayers of His Holiness or the prayers to call on the deities of Tibet, and that no-one was allowed to listen to the Voice of America. It was even declared that we were not allowed to keep radios and tape recorders in the monastery. So we were not allowed to listen to the Voice of America or All India radio. And we were not allowed to have pictures of the Panchen Lama or be allowed to read out the long life prayers of the Panchen Lama. And we were not allowed to try to attempt to escape from Tibet. They said that if in the future they found out that any monk had escaped from Tibet they would close the monastery. They warned the monks that if the monastery had to be closed that they should not blame the government, it was because of those monks who attempted to escape. They said that if they found out in the future that anyone had attempted to escape, they would take legal action against the individual.

In the first part of the rules and regulations, in the "do's", it was said that we had to protect the unity of the motherland, to preserve the fraternity of the people and to act against the Dalai Lama and the activities of the Dalai clique. They gave an example for acting against the Dalai Lama, saying that one should think of it as if either the enemy should die or one would not survive.

Then they asked the monks to make a special cupboard just outside the prayer hall. After finishing this, we were to think about what to do and what not to do, and then they gave the monastery two official letters. One letter was said to be written and sent by President Jiang Zemin. The title of the letter was called "Protecting The Nation Is For The Benefit Of All Beings". It was both in Tibetan and Chinese. The other letter was called "Glimpses Of Patriotism" and included everything in brief. These two letters were given to the monastery. The monastery was asked to make a cupboard and put them inside the cupboard and hang that outside the prayer hall so that every monk could see. They told all the monks in a meeting about the letters. But when the two letters were put in the cupboard they did not call the monks. I read the letter that Jiang Zemin wrote but it didn't have a lot of quantity, it was only the title, "Protecting the Nation is for the Benefit of All Sentient Beings." The letter didn't say anything else.

The meetings during the campaign were held daily except for Sundays. On Sunday there was no meeting. In some

cases the people of the village offered butter and materials to the monastery to perform a big puja and the monastery would request that there be no meeting that day and in these cases they did not hold meetings. If there was a festival, like the Buddha's descent, they gave permission not to hold a meeting if the monastery asked them.

Sometimes the meetings would be two and a half hours, sometimes three hours. A meeting was normally from 3pm till 6pm.

[Measurements and registration of properties of the monastery]

In our monastery we have many different types of statues, made from different materials, but we don't have any made of gold. We have ones made of bronze, iron and silver etc - images and religious cups for offering water. The work team made a list of all these statues and materials in the possession of the monastery. When they were taking notes and making the list they said to the monks that all the possessions in the monastery belonged to the government. They said that all property belongs to the government and that it cannot belong to anyone, not even the monastery. They said that for the time being the government had lent all these things to individuals [in this case the monastery]. They said that the reason for making the list was that if in future the government needed anything from the monastery they could ask them and nobody could say anything against this. They declared this, but I thought at that time that one day they might destroy and make the monastery disappear.

They also measured and took notes of all the places like the festival hall, the chanting hall and the temple, everywhere except the rooms of the monks.

[Question and answer sessions and exams]

Then we had a debating or question session. They asked questions like, "Is Tibet a free country or not?", and "Who is the true reincarnation of the Panchen Lama - that chosen by the Dalai Lama or the one chosen by the Chinese?" And the third question was whether we wanted to act against the splitist movement or not. These questions were set by the work team, who also provided answers to each question. They distributed the questions and answers and asked the monks below 15 to recite them and learn them by heart. For the elder monks like us they didn't force us to recite or learn these questions and answers by heart, but they told us that

we had to learn them slowly by heart. Then, after some time, the monks took the exams. When this was going on, the monks under 15 had not yet been expelled. It was approximately in the 20's of the 9th Tibetan month.

For the test, different monks answered the questions according to their views. Some didn't write anything, some answered the questions according to the official questions and answers. But I only wrote one thing: that I would work according to the campaign of love the nation and love religion and that I would be a good monk in the monastery. The tests were written and all the monks did it together. I think at that time there were 56 monks. The questions were the same as those they had distributed with their answers. Nothing else was put in the exam. They said that anyone who passed the test would be given the red pass. And if the monk failed to pass the test, the work team said that they wouldn't provide them with the red pass.

[Monks are provided with a red pass; monastery appeals to work team and Shigatse to increase number of monks after number of monks dropped]

They provided all the monks with the red pass. When they gave the pass to all of us they said that some of the monks had done well in the test. I think that not all of us who had written in the test had done so according to our wishes. Monks were scared of the work team and could not write properly according to the questions. They would face problems with going to prison and being tortured.

They issued the red pass on the 3rd of the 10th Tibetan month 1996. I think it was on the 1st of the 10th Tibetan month that they said that the monks below aged 15 should leave the monastery. They expelled all the monks under 15 on the 1st October and on the 3rd October they issued the red passes [Tibetan dates]. The monastery then asked the work team to give them permission to continue to have at least 125 monks in the monastery. When the work team first arrived, they said that the monastery should always be self-sufficient and that it should always help the public and not harm the people. So the monastery said that if the number of monks was reduced we couldn't study well and couldn't improve religious study, and that the monastery wouldn't be able to be self-sufficient. If the monastery had the minimum number of monks, it would fail to be self-sufficient according to its own requirements. Before, when we had a

large number of monks in our monastery, at least 6 or 10 monks usually went to perform pujas in people's homes in the village. Thus, the monastery could help the public and earn something. Also, whenever the monastery needed to do anything, such as fetch water or firewood and fuel, the monks could be distributed - some could go and fetch firewood and others could go and perform pujas. After the request, the work team sent a message to Shigatse and we received a reply that the Shigatse administration had granted permission for 90 monks. Before we had 95 monks and it had decreased to 76.

[The monks expelled and imprisoned]

Nine monks below 15 were expelled and two monks were arrested because they had done something relating to the freedom movement, and one monk was also arrested and imprisoned, he had stolen something. Then one monk committed suicide in the river and some monks disobeyed and some other monks passed away.

[The new zhuren and his background; weekly meetings]

At the beginning, when he was appointed as the zhuren of the Democratic Management Committee in our monastery, he was good enough, but later he got worse. These days, he often criticises our own monastery. He said that before it was a counter-revolutionary monastery. He said that it was still very bad, bad meaning that in the monastery there were monks acting against the unity of the motherland and that monks stole things. He said that some monks were splittists and that they had found some monks who were thieves and some monks who acted against the nation. He said that all these different types of monk were coming out of the monastery. He makes these kinds of statements these days.

He says these things both inside and outside the monastery. When he summons meetings in the monastery he says these things, and outside, when he meets officials or the public, he also criticises the monastery.

The Chinese made a timetable so that

the monastery would hold one meeting each week. It was the work team that set this timetable. Before the Patriotic Education campaign we didn't have these types of meeting. At the meetings the zhuren and other members of the Democratic Management Committee speak and read out some books. They have 3 or 4 different types of book which contain the history of Tibet and the legal system of the nation. They read these out and sometimes read out the newspaper. From the newspapers, they say we should be disconnected from the exiled Tibetans. The books used in the meetings are the same as those which were used during Patriotic Education, when the work team was in the monastery.

The weekly meeting is held on Friday and is compulsory and lasts for about 2 hours. If anyone is absent they are punished. Usually all the monks attend the meeting. If they can't attend they are to get permission from the Democratic Management Committee.

Document 15

A monk from Pelbar County in Chamdo Prefecture describes how the Patriotic Education work team at his monastery set about reducing the numbers of monks at his monastery from the initial 30 to 18. The monk providing this account is one of 12 expelled from the monastery by the work team on completion of the Patriotic Education campaign. [TIN Ref 102 (JW)]

I left my monastery after the Chinese came to start the Patriotic Education campaign. After that they issued red passes to the accepted monks who were permitted to stay. Out of all the monks [30] only 18 were allowed to stay and the rest were expelled. During the Patriotic Education they criticised the Dalai Lama and they educated us to love the motherland.

The came to the monastery on the 5th month of the Tibetan calendar [1997] and they stayed for almost one month.

During their stay in the monastery, they noted down all the names of all the golden statues of Buddha, and all the other statues of Buddha. They said that they made this list to use in the future if anything from the monastery got lost.

At first I was confused as to why they noted down the list of golden statues. I thought it might be because in the future, if the monastery was demolished and the statues were removed by the public, they could take them [back] according to the list.

I did not get a red pass. The passes are

signed by the monks and have a photo of them on it. In order to get it the monks had to put their finger prints on a separate piece of paper. They said that 18 monks were permitted to stay in the monastery and they said that if in the future any one of those monks left the monastery they would suffer [Last word wrongly translated]. During the meeting we were expelled and only 18 monks were permitted to stay in the monastery. One of the members of the work team said that in the future if any of the 18 monks still in the monastery wanted to leave or disrobe they would give them a gift or award. He also said that the monks should not gather and chant [tsog tso]; he said that such big gatherings of monks for chanting was not allowed more often than one day [per week]. They told us this at the beginning of the meeting.

I attended all the meetings and then I was expelled.

There was a man from Pelbar county whose post I don't know, but he said that the high lamas and Rinpoches were not allowed to sit in the monastery. They said

that the 18 monks who were given red passes could travel according to their wishes to perform religious ceremonies but that whenever they travelled to places like Lhasa they had to return to the monastery within 15 days. They said that if any monks did spend more than 15 days away from the monastery in Lhasa or places like Lhasa then they would be expelled and their red passes confiscated.

Close to the monastery we started constructing a stupa in Tshokhar township [shang], because in the past there had been a large stupa there but the Chinese destroyed it. Our monastery worked to reconstruct it and it was almost finished with only the surface having to be smoothed with cement. But just before I left Tibet an official from Pelbar county warned that the construction had to be stopped and said that the stupa would be demolished. This was in about 6th month of the Tibetan calendar.

There is a small area between the monastery and Tshokhar township, and the stupa is constructed close to the township. The official told the township

office to stop the construction and demolish it, and two officials from the township told the constructors to stop work. I was there when they said this.

We came to know which 18 monks would be officially admitted to the monastery, just before the Patriotic Education meeting, because a day before the meeting some officials came to the monastery and called the 18 monks. They took pictures of them. The photographer was a Chinese PSB man in PSB uniform, accompanied by a Chinese woman, a Tibetan woman and another official. These 4 officials came to the monastery and took the pictures. They did not take a picture of me. All the monks had to attend the Patriotic Education meeting. The two women who came when the photos were taken were not involved in the Patriotic

Education meetings, but the other two were. The meetings lasted for an hour in the morning and half an hour or an hour in the evening, almost every day for the month that they were in the monastery. However, during that month they left the monastery for about a week, over the period of the Hong Kong hand-over, on 1 July. They told the monks that they had to go to Pelbar county, celebrate and watch the hoisting of the national flag and other such ceremonies.

The work team left after one month, after they finished the meetings. There are many monasteries and they said that two or three officials had been sent to each one to educate the monks and that when they left the monasteries they had many plans.

During the Patriotic Education meetings they said that monks above the

age of 18 could be admitted to the monastery, but that those under 18 were ones who had been forced to become monks.

The reason the work team gave for expelling 12 and only giving a pass to 18 monks was that there were too many monks in the monastery, and that if a family has one or two sons and they become monks then the family would face problems and that they would spend everything on the monks. They said that if the monks disrobed and went back and helped their families then they would develop very well. Thirdly they said that those monks who had been admitted to the monastery earlier than others would be allowed to stay - those who had joined later would be expelled.

Document 16

The following is a description, given by a monk, of the Patriotic Education programme conducted at his monastery. Patriotic Education at the monastery started on 15 July 1996, six days after the monastery had been closed by the monks in protest against a police raid to remove photos of the Dalai Lama (orders banning the display of Dalai Lama photos in monasteries were issued in April 1996). The Patriotic Education officials (in an indication of the on-going nature of the campaign) had given a warning that the next planned Patriotic Education meeting for the monastery would be held three years after the completion of the current campaign. [TIN Ref 4(PR)]

On 8 July 1996 some police and officials came [to the monastery] and asked the monks to remove pictures of the Dalai Lama. The monks did not remove the photos, so at 1 a.m. the next night the police came and removed all the photos of His Holiness. The next day the monks unanimously decided to close down the monastery, schools and restaurants and to stop prayers, in protest at the photos being taken down. This continued for 6 days, until the police eventually came and opened the monastery by force and questioned the monks whose idea it had been. The police could not point a finger at anyone and on 15 July 1996 the Patriotic Education classes started.

The monastery was closed down for 4 months when the Patriotic Education classes were going on. Around 130 to 140 high ranking officials were assigned to give the course. They all had very expensive cars and security guards tailing them and patrolling their rooms at night. They all stayed inside the monastery during the Patriotic Education classes. The classes went on for the whole day with a break for lunch. Saturday and Sunday were rest days and also days to prepare for the next lesson. Sometimes we

also had classes on Saturdays.

From time to time the officials called for a mass meeting [*tso-cha; tsok chen*] where all the monks in the monastery had to gather and listen to the officials. The officials chose a topic and talked about the laws and doctrines of the Chinese regime, or about the history of Tibet or splitting the country etc. They chose a different topic each time.

Before each session an announcement was made for all the monks to gather at a specific time. The officials gave a pass to the monks present at the mass meeting with the date or name written. Later this pass was collected when the monks went to their day to day classes, which were grouped in different 'Tsokchung', and the officials cross-checked to see if we had all attended the mass meeting.

A Tsokchung has about 3 to 5 teachers. A Tsokchung comprises 2 to 3 units [*khimtsa*; probably for *khimtsang*] and one unit has about 20 to 40 monks. The Tsokchungs were numbered from 1 to xx and I was in Tsokchung number 11.

Each week we had a different class. One week they would teach the history of Tibet, the next week about Gha Cha Cho Chay, then Khata the next week, or

Cholung etc. During medium sized meetings [*tsok trim; tsok ding*] and Tsokchung each unit would have to ask each other questions and give answers. The teacher made the monks talk on a topic which they had learned and test how much they had remembered.

The monks who disagreed with the teachings and showed disrespect were expelled. Forty monks were expelled for misbehaving and 100 monks below the age limit of 16 were expelled.

When I was in the monastery we were all asked to give a written statement stating that whatever was taught to us was clear and well understood. From that time we had to be law abiding citizens and not offend the nation by violating the laws.

The officials said that they would stay 6 months to clean up the monastery. The time period set for another meeting would be after 3 years, but they said that if there was news of any political activity in the monastery within this time frame they would come back again. Five hundred monks were given ID cards, one hundred expelled due to their being under age and forty were expelled due to misbehaviour.

Document 17

A monk, from a monastery in Chamdo in Kham, describes the Patriotic Education campaign conducted at his monastery by 18 officials over a period of two months starting on 21 August 1996. [TIN Ref 6(PR)]

On 21 August 1996 18 Chinese officials from 18 different offices came to the monastery [which had 1400 monks] to conduct classes on Patriotic Education. The class went on for 2 months. Sometimes we had class for the whole day and sometimes after lunch till before dinner. They gave us five volumes of books which they taught from and asked us to read. One volume was about Love of Country and Love of Religion, opposing splittists, laws and punishment for violating the laws, the History of Tibet and I've forgotten the last volume.

The Chinese officials would sometimes teach in groups of 100 and sometimes call all the monks together. They have banned the worshipping of His Holiness and of the Panchen Lama chosen by His Holiness. If the monks were caught chanting prayers of His Holiness they would be put in prison. Before they started the class the officials took detailed biographical information about each monk and also details of relatives in India.

The officials also announced that after conducting the class and according to the results, the monks would be given two types of card, green or red. The green card meant that the monk had "bad conduct" and had to go to the Shan police station once a week to be questioned. If the head of police was not satisfied with him, he would be expelled from the monastery. The red card was for excellent behaviour and a monk holding the red card could

stay in the monastery.

After the two months of teaching, the 18 officials left and said that they would be back again soon and the monks should be reading the five books. At the end of November I took leave from the monk in charge of discipline saying that I wanted to go to Lhasa for a pilgrimage.

On the afternoon of 24 December I saw two young boys around 24 or 25 years old being arrested for demonstrating around the Barkor, I do not know their names. That very night there was a bomb blast at the TAR [government] office. After just 2 days I heard from a friend that some monks and nuns were arrested in Thomsa Kha [the Tromsikhang?] during a demonstration. The Chinese put up a reward of Y200,000 for a person informing against the attacker and his whole family would also be given high ranking jobs with the government.

When I went to Sera, Drepung, and Ganden monasteries I saw that the Chinese had put up their flag and in Sera the Chinese have put a sign on the door which reads "Democratic Management Committee". I was told by the monks in Sera that only 500 monks had been allowed to stay; the rest were expelled, as well as 700 from Drepung. They had all been given red ID cards. When I went for a pilgrimage to the Potala the guards did not allow us to have a good pilgrimage. Many doors were closed and I was afraid to pray, there were many policemen

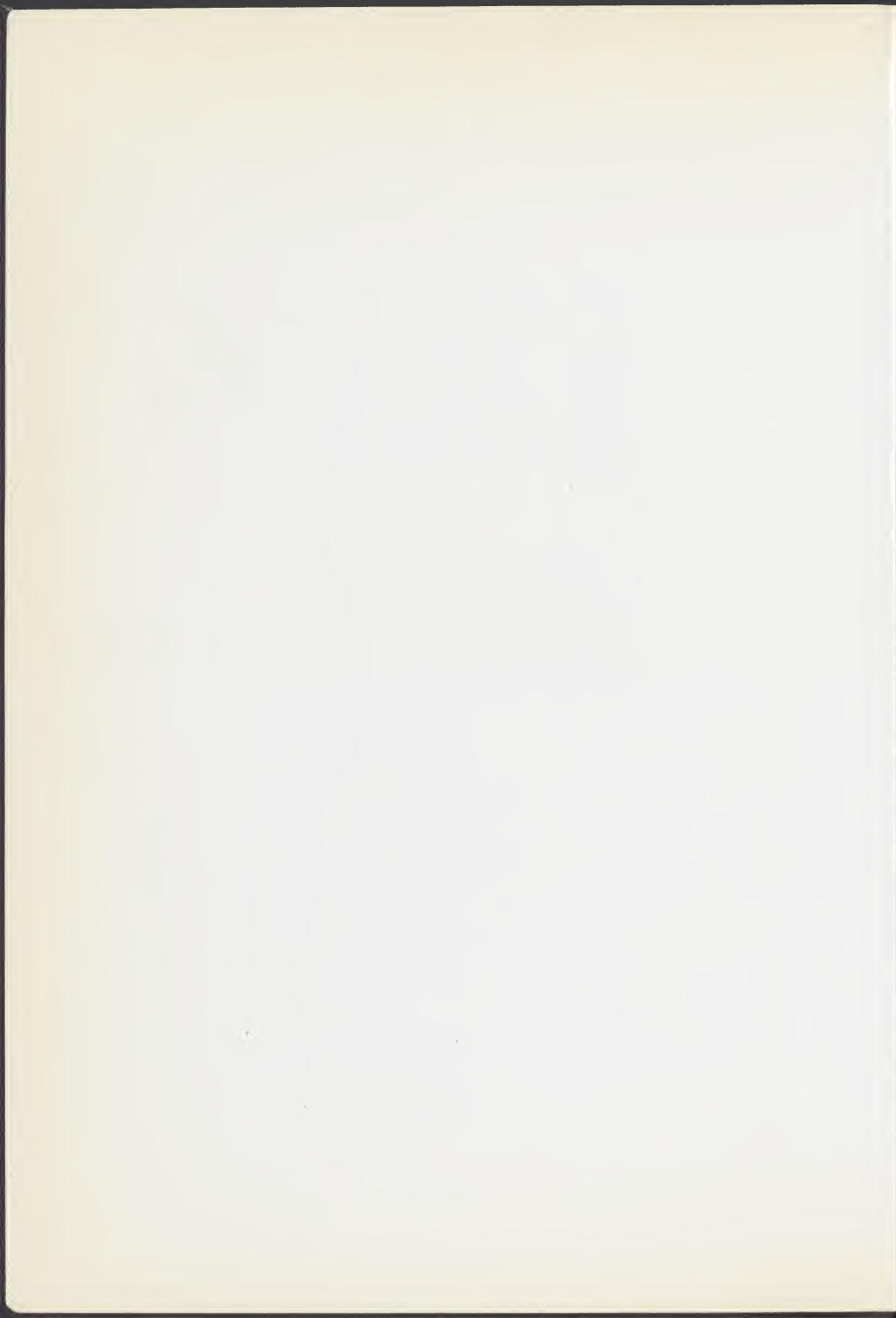
walking around with walkie-talkies.

In Lhasa, all the monasteries have taken out the photo of HH, the poor monks are all suppressed by the Chinese. Only the Ramoche Temple in Lhasa has a small photo of HH the size of a nail put between the fingers of Lord Buddha.

In the month of August one of the monks in our monastery was arrested. His room was searched and the authorities found a small paper on which was written "Free Tibet". He was tortured very severely in Chamdo prison and released after two months. He died 6 days after release, he was about 27 years old and his hometown was Tso in Chamdo. I do not know his name. When we took him for sky burial I saw that the back of his neck and upper back was all burned. They must have given him electric shocks.

In our monastery there were about 50 monks who had returned from India. Somehow the Chinese authorities came to know of it, and arrested them between 1995-6. They were tortured and asked many questions, I think they must be released from prison by now but none came back to the monastery. If they did come, the head monk would not be permitted to re-admit them.

My main intention in coming to India is to join Sera monastery to gain more education and work towards winning freedom for Tibet. I will give my life if I have to for religion and freedom.



Appendix I

The Patriotic Education Campaign: A Chronology

11 March 1996

Official

A Tibet Daily article says that under no circumstances must anyone be allowed to use religion to oppose the leadership of the party and the socialist system, to restore abolished religious privileges, to interfere in politics, justice, school education, and socialist education, or to force young people under the age of 18 to believe in religion.

5 April 1996

Official

A ban on the public display of photographs of the Dalai Lama is announced on the front page of the 5 April edition of the Tibet Daily. "The hanging of the Dalai's portrait in temples should gradually be banned," said the announcement. It also called for the immediate confiscation and thorough investigation of "reactionary propaganda materials". The materials listed for investigation are scriptures, pictures, audio and video products, and other things that contain materials for splitting the motherland, promoting Tibetan independence, and other reactionary contents. The announcement also said that "the Dalai is no longer a religious leader who can bring happiness to the masses, but a guilty person of the motherland and people". A call for a step up in efforts to conduct Patriotic Education in "religious activity centres" and to "thoroughly eradicate the Dalai splittist forces influences" was made, with an order that leaders in all monasteries be replaced by monks known to be "patriotic". There are unconfirmed reports that some monasteries, including the Jokhang and Norbulinka, had been informed as early as January 1996 to remove photographs of the Dalai Lama from public display.

22/23 April 1996

Photograph ban

Police in Lhasa order hotels and restaurants to remove all pictures of the Dalai Lama.

6 May 1996

Monasteries

Monks at Ganden monastery stage a major protest after a Patriotic Education work team arrive and officials try to impose new regulations banning photographs of the Dalai Lama. At least 6 monks were shot or wounded after the police surrounded the monastery and opened fire, and one monk later died of gunshot wounds. Between 85 and 91 monks from Ganden are believed to have been detained in the three days following the demonstration.

8 May 1996

Monasteries

The government closes Ganden monastery for "consolidation and rectification" following the 6 May protest. Patriotic education is believed to have been started shortly after this incident.

12 May 1996

Monasteries

A group of Communist Party officials arrive in a work team at Sera monastery to implement the Dalai Lama photograph ban. A number of young monks at Sera closed the gates of the monastery in protest at the order. It re-opened on 18 May in order to allow celebrations of the first day of the Saga-dawa, a Buddhist festival, to take place.

12 May 1996

Monasteries

Drepung monastery is closed by a number of monks in protest at the new ban on the display of Dalai Lama pictures.

14 May 1996

Monasteries

The Ramoche temple in Lhasa is closed by the monks, and the Jokhang, the main temple in Tibet, stages a one-day shut-down in sympathy with the sealing off of the monasteries.

14 May 1996

Official

Chen Kuiyuan, secretary of the TAR Party Committee, tells member of the TAR Regional People's Congress that "there are a few die-hard reactionaries in the monasteries who are hell-bent on following the Dalai. [...] In order to beat the splittist and sabotage activities of the Dalai Clique and protect the normal religious life of the masses of religious devotees, we must carry out a carefully differentiated rectification of the monasteries within our region."

16 May 1996

Photograph ban

Students at Lhasa's middle schools are reportedly summoned to meetings and told that possession of Dalai Lama photographs is no longer permitted. The children were also told that they could no longer wear "sung-du", the red cords commonly worn around the wrist or neck of Tibetan Buddhists.

20 May 1996

Photograph ban

House to house searches for photographs of the Dalai Lama were due to take place in one part of Lhasa, according to an official in the Tibetan capital. This suggests that the campaign to root out support for the exiled leader is being widened, in a part of Lhasa at least, to include a ban on private possession of the photographs as well as on their public display.

22 May 1996

Photograph ban

AFP reports that the Jokhang temple in Lhasa has a small photograph of the Dalai Lama on display in defiance of the ban introduced on 5 April. The photo was visible to the thousands of worshippers who visited its shrine on the 19 as part of the celebrations to mark the Buddha's birthday.

28 May 1996

Official

A "golden board" presented by president Jiang Zemin and inscribed with the words, "Safeguard the Country and Benefit the People" is unveiled at Tashilhunpo monastery in Shigatse.

June

Official

Four books are published by the "Governing Office for carrying out Patriotic Education in all monasteries throughout the TAR" as reference materials issued to the monks by the work teams in the monasteries during the Patriotic Education campaign.

9 June 1996

Monasteries

A Patriotic Education team of 70 officials starts an operation to register and educate monks at Sera monastery. The team told the head of the monastery that all monks should come to

register if they wanted to be allowed to stay in the monastery. A monk who left for India 4 days after the work team arrived said that "registration involves giving your details and giving fingerprints, and making a commitment to accept political education which they were planning to give soon after."

28 June

Ngawang Oeser, a monk from Sera monastery in his 20s, is arrested for writing a pro-independence leaflet.

Arrests

30 June 1996

Norbu, also known as Lobsang Sherab, is arrested on suspicion of involvement in producing a pro-independence leaflet with Ngawang Oeser. Aged in his 30's he was a teacher and a junior chant-leader at Sera monastery.

Arrests

9 July

Kelsang, also known as Kelsang Phuntsog or Lobsang, is arrested for printing a text about Tibetan history. Aged 25, he was a printer at Sera monastery who worked by carving texts on woodblock. Kelsang was previously arrested in August 1991 for distributing leaflets in the Barkor and is believed to have served a 3 year sentence in Gutsa. A second printer, Buzhon, is arrested on the same night, along with 2 laywomen living near the monastery. The names of the women are unknown.

Arrests

29 July 1996

Phagbalha Geleg Namgyal, vice-chairman of the Tibet CPPCC, said at a meeting of the CPPCC Standing Committee that the purpose of conducting Patriotic Education in temples was "to remove the breeding ground and hotbed for the Dalai Clique's splittist activities in Tibet." Pagbalha said that the attitudes of the CPPCC officials and of its members towards Patriotic Education would be the "real manifestation of [their] political direction, position, views, judgement and insight".

Official

Early August 1996

A work team of 180 officials starts the Patriotic Education programme at Drepung monastery. The monks were told that they would get a blue-coloured identity card, which would give them temporary registration in the monastery, if they signed a document denouncing the Dalai Lama, or otherwise face expulsion. The demand applies to all monks, even those who are already registered.

Monasteries

5 August 1996

The Patriotic Education campaign is linked to the "Strike Hard" campaign, which was launched in April 1996 as a nation-wide crackdown against crime. The authorities in Tibet announce an extension to the "Strike Hard" campaign and call on "the whole society to go into action [to] fight against separatists' splittist and sabotage activities". "In particular, greater efforts must be made to improve the work of clearing up and straightening our lamaseries," said executive deputy secretary Ragdi, according to a Tibet TV broadcast monitored by the BBC.

Official

8 August 1996

As part of a new theme in Chinese propaganda a former Tashilhunpo monk who has become a layman is quoted by Xinhua, the official Chinese news agency, as saying that "our living conditions are now much better than before. [...] Our generation will go to colleges and see the outside world. Now

Official

we truly feel we have a future."

14 August 1996

At the 5th Meeting of the Joint Conference of the Chairmen of the CPPCC of five South-western Provinces and Regions in Lhasa, Guo Jinlong, executive deputy secretary of the TAR, said that Tibet had carried out education in patriotism and "established normal order in all monasteries of the region." He said that Tibet would "never allow monasteries to become positions for separatist activities of the Dalai clique."

Official

15 August 1996

At about 11.15pm four more monks are arrested from Sera: Lobsang Nyima, the kunyer [care-taker monk] of the Tamdrin chapel at Sera; Tashi Peltar, the kunyer at Sera Mey college in the monastery; a student monk called Bu Tsering; and a monk named Lobsang Samtem. The four arrests took place "at the time the photograph of His Holiness the Dalai Lama was being taken down", according to a four page statement written by a group of monks at Sera, which gave no further explanation for the arrests.

Arrests

16 August 1996

The authorities in the TAR confirm that Patriotic Education is being carried out in monasteries in the region. AFP quoted a Mr Qiu, from Lhasa's external affairs bureau, as saying that the TAR government had decided to launch a Patriotic Education campaign in the temples to "instil love of the party and love of the religion" but said that the campaign was "not a question of expelling lamas". The focus of the education campaign, according to Qiu, was the Jokhang, Drepung monastery and Ganden monastery.

Official

20 August 1996

Yeshe Changchub, a monk at Drepung monastery, is detained. Ngawang Choegyel, another Drepung monk whose layname is Gyatso, was detained on 30 August. Both monks are about 23 years old. The reasons for the arrests are unclear, with some reports saying the monks had refused to denounce the Dalai Lama, while others say one of them had been discovered arranging for food from the monastery to be passed secretly to political prisoners in a nearby jail. A third monk, Jampel Wangchug, was arrested at around the same time, probably because he had recently returned from an unapproved trip to India.

Arrests

21 August 1996

A set of regulations are issued to Drepung monks ordering them to attend each education session, to take notes at each of the lectures and on the four re-education textbooks, and to do an hour's homework each day. The rules warned that monks "with bad attitudes and poor results" in the education campaign will face expulsion from the monastery. The Drepung rules note that monks will be examined on their studies on patriotism in writing as well as orally.

Monasteries

23 August 1996

The kunyer [caretaker-monk] of the main chapel at Sakya monastery is arrested during a Patriotic Education meeting after pictures and cassettes of the Dalai Lama are found in his room. The monk, Gendun Gyaltsen, had his thumbs placed in metal "thumbcuffs" and was led away by police, but was released one week later and expelled from the monastery.

Arrests

30 August 1996**Expulsions**

Ninety-two monks are expelled from Ganden monastery for refusing to write down the four "hats", or crimes, of the Dalai Lama during the Patriotic Education campaign. Fifteen of these monks had been amongst those arrested after the 6 May protest, of whom at least eleven had been released from Gutsa detention centre that day.

31 August 1996**Expulsions**

A second group of monks, variously estimated at around 60 or 70, are expelled from Ganden monastery, most of them juveniles below the age of 15 who are not allowed by Chinese law to join monasteries. These expulsions are believed to mark the culmination of the Patriotic Education drive in Ganden.

1 September 1996**Arrests**

Tenchog Tenphel, a 27 year old monk from Sakya monastery, is arrested in front of a full meeting of the Sakya monks called by the work team carrying out Patriotic Education. He died on 14 September in the local county prison. Local sources allege that he died as a result of abuse, but police said that his death was a suicide. The body was cremated on 17 September, apparently without an autopsy being carried out.

3 September 1996**Monasteries**

It is reported that there is a Patriotic Education team of 5 officials at Shalu monastery, near Shigatse; a team of 15 at Gyantse, which has 60 monks; and a team of 20 at Sakya, where there are 80 monks. There are daily sessions at Sakya from 3pm until 7pm and thrice weekly sessions at Gyantse on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. The teams are expected to stay three months in each monastery.

7 September 1996**Official**

Ragdi, executive deputy secretary of the TAR Party Committee, spoke of the pilot projects in carrying out Patriotic Education at Sera, Drepung and Ganden monasteries at an enlarged meeting of the CCP Standing Committee. Ragdi said that the pilot projects had shown the carrying out of Patriotic Education and establishing of "normal order" in temples in Tibet to be "absolutely necessary and timely". Many temples, Ragdi said, had become "bases where they [Dalai clique] carry out splittist activities and a number of monks and nuns have become backbone elements of splittist forces".

25 October 1996**Monasteries**

At least 16 monks resign from Drepung monastery in advance of a written examination which would have required them to denounce the Dalai Lama. They are said to have left the monastery on about 25 October without waiting to be formally expelled.

25 October 1996**Arrests**

Ngawang Tharchin, a 21 year old monk from Drepung monastery, is sentenced without trial to 3 years re-education through labour for interrupting a lecture by well known Tibetan historian Phuntsog Tsering during the patriotic education campaign. He is said to have described as "false history" the claim that Tibet had been a part of China since the 13th century. This is the first known sentence to be imposed as a result of the campaign. Another monk, Gyaltsen Yeshe, was also sentenced to three years for a related offence. Three other monks were arrested at the same time.

4 November 1996**Official**

A signed article in the Tibet Daily said that the number of monasteries in Tibet in early 1996 far exceeded the numbers planned. In 1986 it was planned that there would be 229 monasteries renovated and opened in Tibet, whereas the actual number of monasteries open in early 1996 was 1,787. This, combined with the high numbers of monks and nuns, 46,000 in early 1996, was creating a negative impact on social and economic development. The article said that some temples have come under the control of the "Dalai clique" and become strongholds of the separatists whilst some monks and nuns have become the backbone of the separatists' activities. "Since 1987, the people who have created the turmoil and undermined stability have mainly been lawbreaking Buddhist monks and nuns". There was therefore a need to "strengthen management over temples, monks and nuns according to law; carry out Patriotic Education programmes; and establish a normal order in temples".

11/12 November 1996**Monasteries**

The remaining monks at Drepung sit written political examinations on 11 November for the younger monks, and on 12 November for the senior monks. The monks were given the questions and answers in advance, suggesting that the exercise was designed not to test memory or comprehension, but to obtain signed statements of allegiance from the monks.

21 November 1996**Official**

A Tibet Daily article warns that TAR cannot "ignore the Dalai clique's ideological influence in the spiritual field" and says that the "Dalai's spiritual influence over the masses still prevails". The article says that the TAR should pay "particular attention to conducting Patriotic Education among the broad masses of youngsters" whilst conducting patriotic education among the masses.

11 December 1996**Monasteries**

Drepung Monastery holds a ceremony for the establishment and inauguration of the Drepung Monastery Management Committee at the monastery's Ganden Phodrang. The ceremony was presided over by Ngawang Ngodrub, the executive vice-chairman of the committee, and attended by the monks of the monastery as well as regional party, government and military leaders. The Drepung Monastery Management Committee presented the Patriotic Education work team with a banner inscribed with the words: "The education in patriotism warms the hearts of the monks and the beneficence of saving the monastery and monks will last for one thousand years."

19 December 1996**Official**

Xinhua reports on Patriotic Education bases set up in Tibet which are attracting thousands of ordinary citizens each year and are effectively curbing the sabotage of the Dalai clique, which attempts to damage ethnic unity in the name of religion and nationality.

30 December 1996**Official**

Tibet Radio reports that the broad masses of cadres and people have recognised the Dalai Lama's "reactionary political nature and his religious hypocrisy". According to the report, some people, in a bid to make a "clean break with the Dalai clique", have on their [own] initiative, removed the Dalai's portraits from their homes.

28 April 1997

Monasteries

The first-stage of patriotic education in lamaseries in Lhasa's Metropolitan District [*chengguanqu*] is launched. Fifty four cadres have been formed into four work groups to conduct education in selected monasteries in the district.

23 May 1997

Official

At the 5th session of the 6th TAR People's Congress Ragdi says that it is necessary to "comprehensively and deeply" conduct patriotic education in temples "throughout the region" and strengthen leadership over it.

June 1997

Monasteries

A journalist who visited the Drigung area, 80km north-east of Lhasa, in early June, reported seeing armed patriotic education officials in the Drigung Til monastery, where he said about 120 monks were gathered together and made to sit down while a group of between six and ten plainclothes police walked around them. A separate eyewitness also reported seeing education officials carrying guns in the monastery in June.

15 June 1997

Monasteries

Citing "well-placed" sources, AFP report that the Patriotic Education campaign being carried out in the TAR has been judged too violent by Beijing and that the official (unnamed) in charge of the campaign has been pulled out of Tibet, although this has never been confirmed. The report also said religious activities had resumed with "fervour" in the temples visited in the region and that photos of the Dalai Lama are reappearing. This is acknowledged by Thubten, head of the nationalities and religious affairs commission in the TAR, who is reported as saying that "we know that certain temples are showing portraits of the Dalai Lama but we are also aware it takes time to change people's mentality". Thubten is also reported as saying that Patriotic Education will be over in two years time. None of this has been confirmed, but it is the first indication that Patriotic Education may be a three year project. Unconfirmed reports continue to circulate that the policy will be moderated but these may be misleading.

16 June 1997

Arrests

Unofficial reports of unrest in monasteries in Lhokha prefecture begin to emerge. Jampel Tendar, a 20 year old monk from Choede monastery in Gongkar County in Lhokha Prefecture, is detained and taken to prison in Tsethang for putting up hand-written posters declaring support for the Dalai Lama and Tibetan independence around the monastery. Jampel Tendar put up the posters after the 78 monks at the monastery had disrupted an evening meeting at which they were expected to sit an examination and give written statements supporting China's policy on religion and criticising the Dalai Lama. There was at the time a 28 strong work team from the local Party committee at the monastery.

18 June 1997

Monasteries

All the monks at Samdrubling monastery in Tsethang county, Lhokha prefecture, stage a walk-out and close their monastery in protest at demands by a patriotic education team. Local Party officials who formed the work team instructed the monks to criticise the Dalai Lama and to denounce the pro-independence movement. The incident apparently led to high-level political concern, according to one unconfirmed report, which said that Tenzin, a deputy secretary of the TAR Party Committee, had visited the area when informed of the incident

by the authorities in Lhokha prefecture.

18 June 1997

Official

Chen Kuiyuan, speaking at the TAR Party Committee conference for delegates to the 15th National Party Congress, justifies the patriotic education campaign, saying that satisfactorily carrying out patriotic education in temples and promoting spiritual civilisation throughout society is "a fundamental constituent of the basic Party line."

5 July 1997

Official

Citing the 4 July edition of the Tibet Daily AFP reports Ragdi defending the Patriotic Education campaign by criticising the standards of monks. He is reported to have said that "some monasteries do not look like monasteries any more. Some monks do not look like monks anymore. At night, they dress in Western clothes and go to karaoke bars. [...] The great mass of believers have reacted strongly to these practices far removed from religion, and have asked the government to tighten control and education [in the monasteries]".

8 July 1997

Official

Tibet Daily reports that Nagchu Prefecture has sent fifty eight work teams into some key temples in the prefecture to conduct Patriotic Education on monks and nuns since the launch of the campaign.

14 September 1997

Official

Figures relating to the patriotic education campaign are given for the first time in the 14 September edition of the Tibet Daily, which reports that 28,253 cadres in the TAR had received "anti-separatist" courses, including Patriotic Education, in the last five years. This comprised 2,228 city officials, 4,801 village heads and 21,224 party militants.

17 September 1997

Official

Ragdi said at a news conference in Beijing during the 15th National Party Congress that the accusations in some foreign media that the Patriotic Education being conducted in Tibet undermined freedom of religious belief did not stand to reason at all. Ragdi questioned whether any country in the world would permit the existence of any mass organisations or individuals that "refuse the restraints of laws" or permit any organisations or individuals to use religion to conduct illegal and criminal activities.

19 September 1997

Official

The first stage of Patriotic Education in Lhasa's Metropolitan district, which started on 28 April 1997, ends. The four work teams conducted Patriotic Education on 443 monks and nuns from Garu, Chubang, Jicang, Phurbuchog and Naigudong monasteries. There are in total over 790 monks and nuns in 36 monasteries under the jurisdiction of the district.

11 October 1997

Official

Chen Kuiyuan starts inspecting monasteries undergoing patriotic education. He visits Samye monastery in Dranang county in Lhokha prefecture and says that the monastery is "patriotic, law-abiding, and progressive". Tibet will, in the future, as it always has, show concern for and give support to patriotic and law-abiding temples and monasteries, according to Chen.

1 November 1997**Official**

Chen Kuiyuan makes an inspection tour of Tashilhunpo monastery in Shigatse. Chen singled out for praise the management committees of the monastery, along with those of Jampaling in Chamdo Prefecture and Rizheng [Reting?] monasteries for their good management of the monks. Chen said that if all the management committees in the temples and monasteries in the region carried out their responsibilities then the "government will not be required to dispatch work teams to conduct education at temples and monasteries".

10 November 1997**Official**

According to the Tibet Daily an unnamed "responsible person" of the TAR Nationalities and Religious Affairs Commission says at a news briefing in Lhasa that the work of conducting Patriotic Education has "proceeded smoothly, yielding remarkable results and has been warmly supported by the broad masses of monks, nuns and religious believers". This is the first time that officials claim success in the Patriotic Education campaign. The official said that the campaign in monasteries was launched as a result of the broad masses of monks, laymen and patriotic persons from the religious circles complaining about the relaxed discipline and rotten religious practices in some religious institutions. The 10th Panchen Lama had also harshly criticised this situation when he was alive, according to the official.

11 November 1997**Official**

It is reported by the Tibet Daily that the first batch of monks and nuns receiving Patriotic Education in the TAR reached more than 20,000, more than 47 per cent of all the monks and nuns in the region.

11 November 1997**Lay patriotism**

Information on Kyimshi township being a pilot project for the Patriotic Education of lay people is released. A report by the TAR Nationalities and Religious Affairs Commission, excerpts of which were published in the 11 November edition of the Tibet Daily, says that the TAR, Lhokha prefecture and Gongkar county formed a joint work group this year to carry out Patriotic Education among the monks, nuns, villagers and students in Kyimshi township as a pilot project for the whole region, with the approval of the regional and central governments. Kyimshi, a group of villages in the Upper Chideshol valley, was chosen in view of the "acute and complicated anti-separatist struggle that has been going on for many years in Kyimshi township and Sungrabling monastery", said the report. [In June 1993 a large demonstration took place at Kyimshi, sparked off by protests over allegedly fixed elections for new leaders of the 'xiang' or township and it was reported by unofficial sources that on 28 June that year 1,700 soldiers surrounded the village and later arrested 35 people.]

19 November 1997**Lay patriotism**

Tibetan officials start saying that Patriotic Education must be extended to lay people. Pema Drappa, president of the Regional Higher People's Court, and Nyima Tsering, a new deputy chairman of the TAR, said that while conducting patriotic education in temples and monasteries it was also

necessary to conduct extensive education on "patriotism in society".

20 November 1997**Official**

The Tibet Daily publishes an interview with Jampa Kelden, vice-chairman of the TAR Office on Education in Lamaseries, in which he says that Tibet had "only taken the first step in conducting Patriotic Education in monasteries". The TAR would "continue to deepen the Patriotic Education campaign in all fields in order to totally smash the separatist scheme to divide the motherland", he added.

28 November 1997**Lay patriotism**

Details are released in the 28 November edition of the Tibet Daily of a second pilot project for Patriotic Education among lay people. The report said that the Propaganda department of the TAR Party committee, the Office of the Regional Group on Conducting Education in Temples, the Propaganda department of Lhokha prefecture Party committee and the Tibet Daily had formed a joint investigation group to conduct special investigation on comprehensive education campaigns in Lhunse county in Lhokha prefecture. The Lhunse Party Committee had been conducting the campaign among the masses in public offices, schools, rural and pastoral areas, as well as monasteries since May 1996.

According to the report, the number of monks and nuns in Lhokha prefecture's Lhunse county dropped from 242 before the launch of the patriotic education campaign to 219. More than 40 monks and nuns below the age of eighteen were "dissuaded" from religious institutions throughout the county. Since the launch of the patriotic education campaign "no child from any family throughout the county has entered a temple to become a monk or a nun".

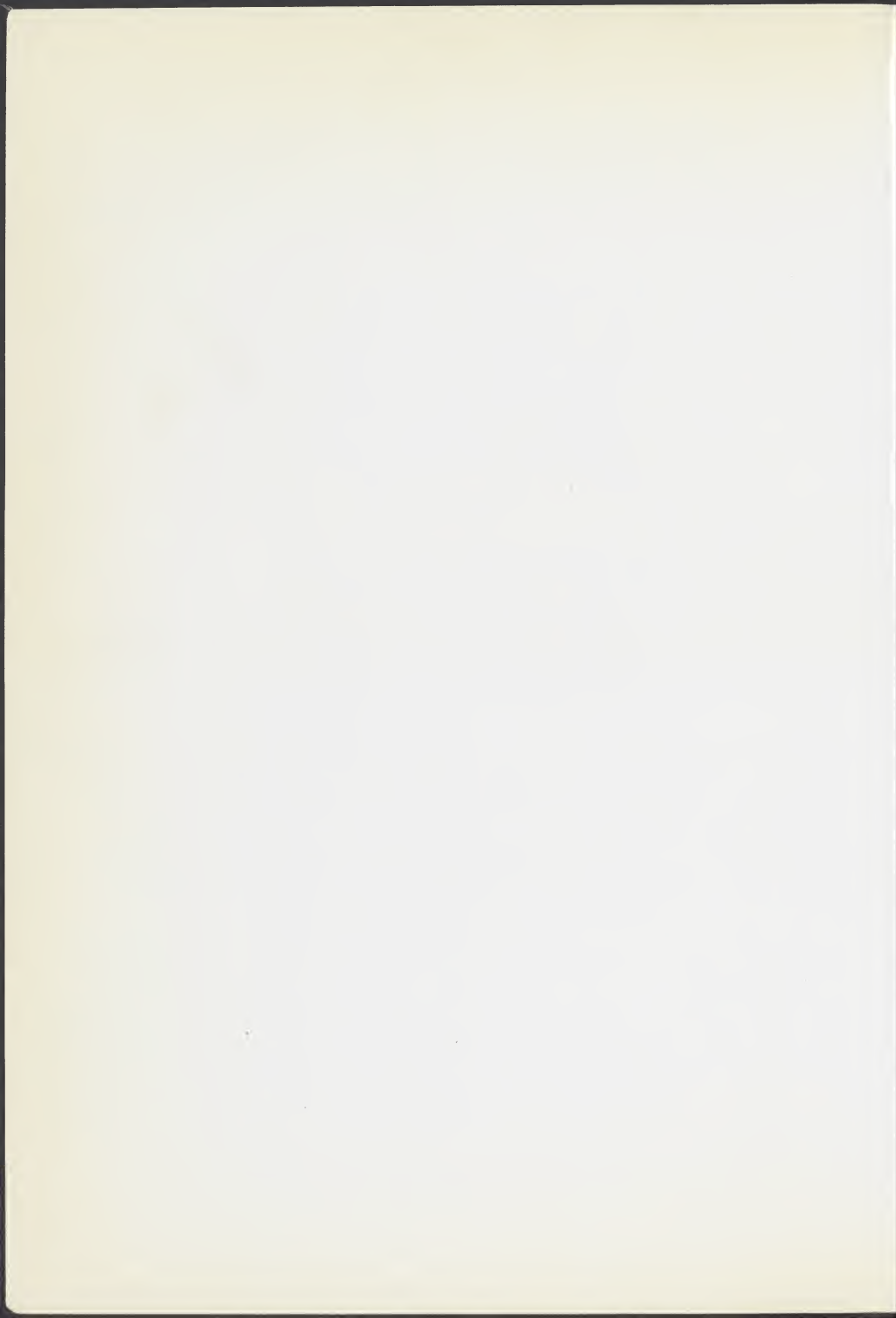
The article said that according to incomplete statistics some 54,597 peasants and herders in Lhunse County had participated in Patriotic Education campaigns, with 4,466 statements of criticism of "the Dalai's rule and suppression in old Tibet" being written. All the temples in the county had held 111 meetings to expose and criticise the Dalai, attended by 1,038 monks and nuns, and 192 monks and nuns in monasteries had written 639 articles to criticise Dalai.

11 March 1998**Official**

Ragdi, chairman of the TAR Regional People's Congress, says at a press conference at the National Party Congress in Beijing that at present more than 700 monasteries and temples throughout the TAR have been "consolidated" through Patriotic Education, and that the campaign had been conducted among more than 35,000 monks and nuns.

May 1998**Official**

EU troika Ambassadors are told by the Minorities and Religious Affairs Department of the TAR government that in total 3,754 people had been dismissed from religious institutions in the TAR as a result of the Patriotic Education Work Teams' activities. 1,115 of these were under the minimum age of 18 and most of the rest had been asked to leave because of their bad conduct.



Spiritual Civilisation

"The main battlefield of our struggles against the Dalai clique is in the spiritual field."

Chen Kuiyuan, 23 July 1996

"Tibet is too deeply tied up and influenced by Tibetan Buddhism as well as old systems, customs and concepts, which are so deep-rooted and so hard to change."

Chen Kuiyuan, 8 November 1996

"We must mobilise the masses to eliminate filth, disorder and substandard goods and behaviour and cultivate fine social practice."

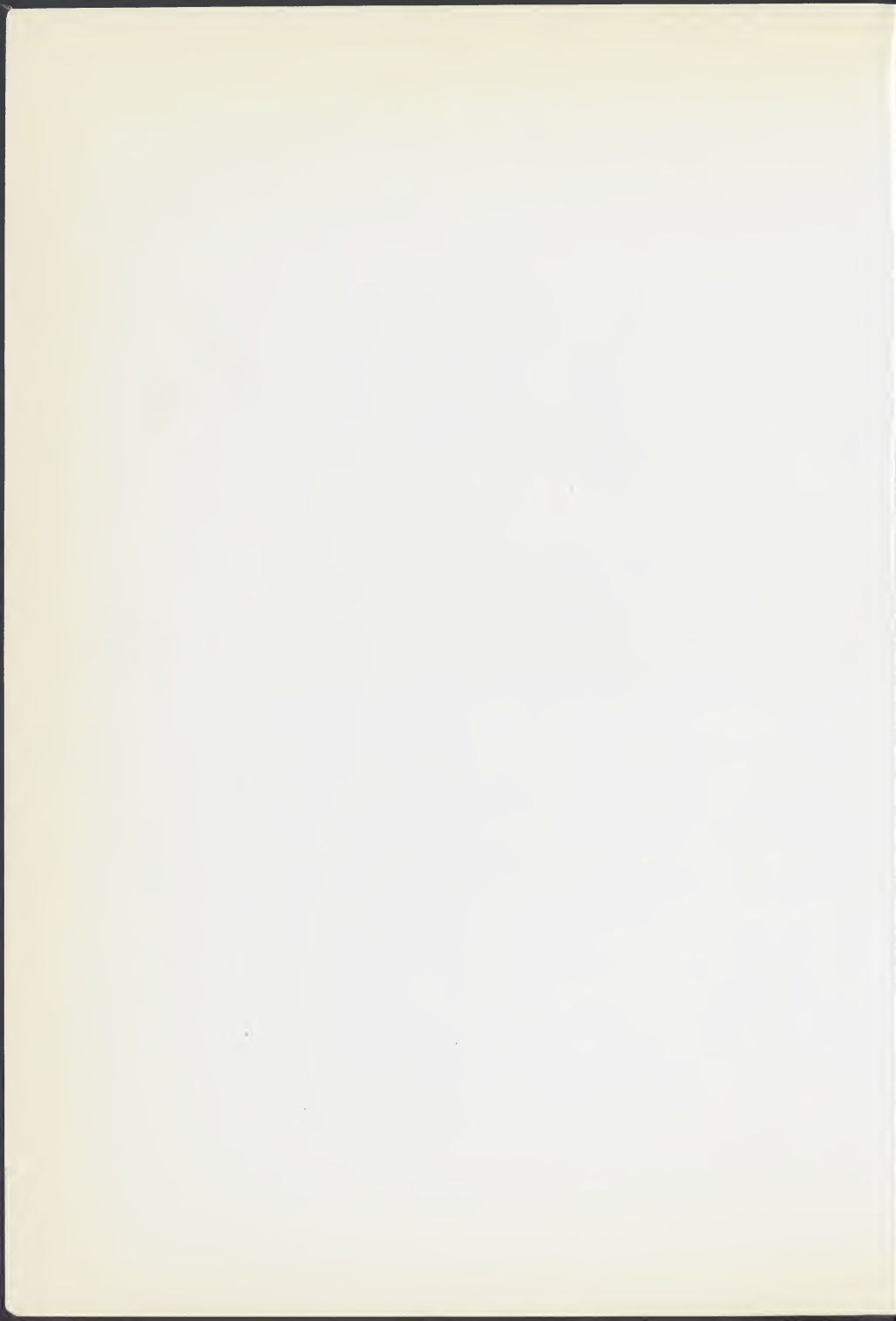
Tibet Daily, 6 December 1996

"In the practice of building Spiritual Civilisation, having ardent love for the socialist motherland is the principal political stand that every citizen must possess."

Tibet Daily, 23 December 1996

"The negative influence of theistic religious spiritualism has clearly become a prominent obstacle to social progress."

Essay in Tibet Daily, 19 January 1997



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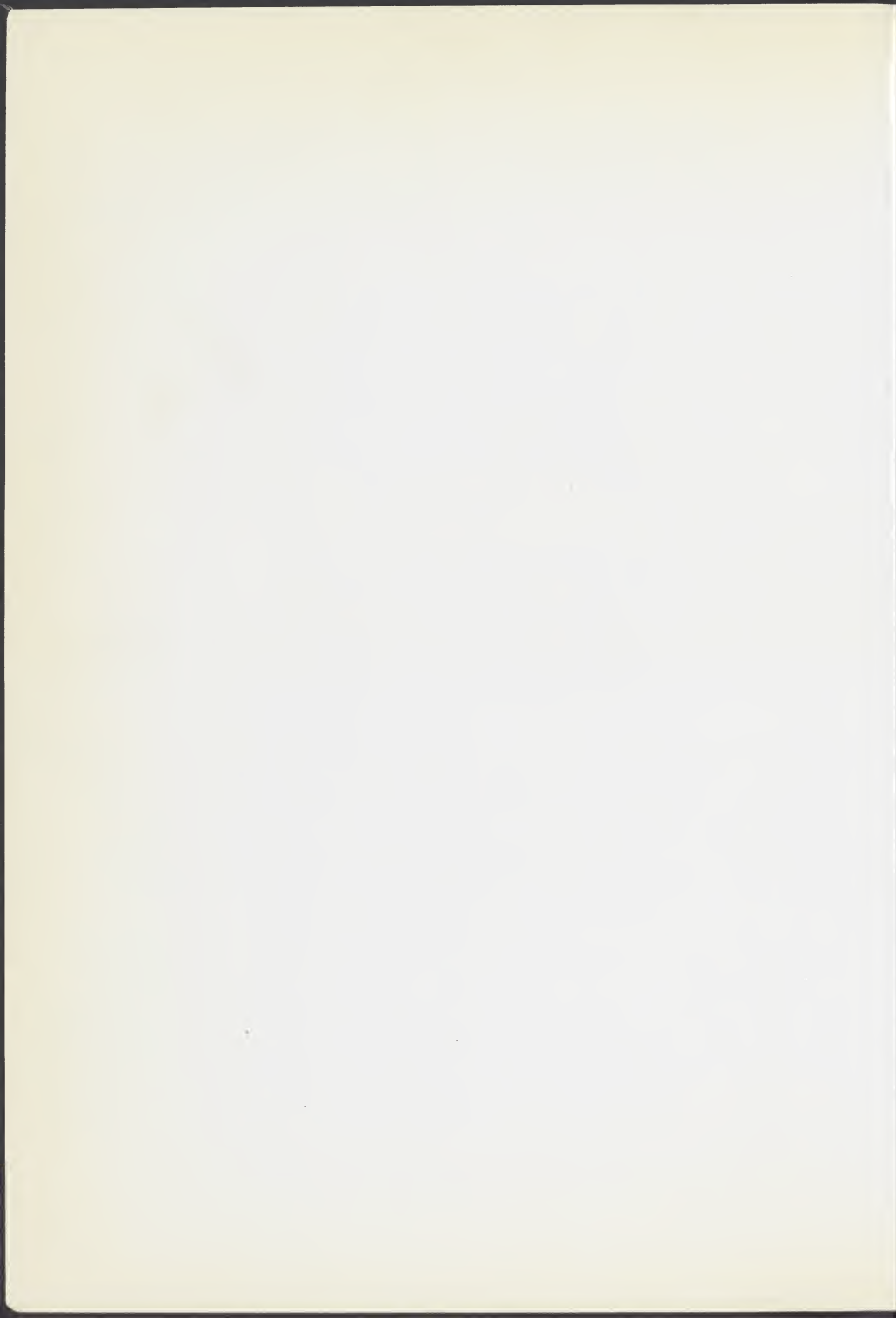
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Introduction

Socialist Spiritual Civilisation was originally introduced in China as a concept at the end of the 1970s. It was first defined by Deng Xiaoping in a speech made on 25 December 1980: he said that the term referred "not only to education, science, and culture (although these are essential) but to communist thought, ideals, belief, morality, discipline, a revolutionary standpoint and principles, comradely relations between people, and so on."¹ At this time, the motivation behind its introduction included helping to restore normal standards of behaviour after the Cultural Revolution and serving as a remedy for the "crisis of faith" which had arisen in society. At that time, it was seen by Hu Yaobang as giving an impetus to the building of material civilisation and at the same time ensuring that material civilisation would develop correctly.² References to building the "two civilisations", spiritual and material, continued to appear in the official press throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

Following the 6th plenary session of the 14th Central Committee in autumn 1996, a fresh campaign to "build Spiritual Civilisation" was launched in China. Suggestions that a renewed campaign was needed had appeared in the Tibet press: for example, on 11 July, the Tibet Daily published an article describing the implementation of Spiritual Civilisation in the Shigatse region. The article quoted Chen Hanchang, then director of the TAR propaganda department, as saying that more importance must be attached to the construction of Spiritual Civilisation and that a system for its construction should be put in place. TAR Party secretary Chen Kuiyuan, in a speech at a mobilisation rally on the building of socialist Spiritual Civilisation in Lhasa on 23 July, referred to it as "an essential component of the socialist society".

The new drive did not take exactly the same course in every province and region in China; in Tibet, its nature and focus were defined in accordance with the perceived problems in the region. Overall, preoccupations with the Dalai Lama and the role of religion had a crucial role. In a speech made on 23 July, Chen Kuiyuan said: "One of Tibet's important tasks in facilitating [the] Spiritual Civilisation drive is to screen and eliminate Dalai's

influence in the spiritual field. If we fail to accomplish this task, we cannot claim to have attained any great results in facilitating the Spiritual Civilisation drive." On religion more generally, he said: "With respect to promoting cultural and ideological progress, we must use progressive thinking and scientific world outlook to guide the people to shake off religion...this is a very important, conspicuous, and crucial assignment."

Chen analysed the situation more precisely in a speech he gave on 8 November 1996, at the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee. The first four of the special problems he perceived in the TAR related to Western "hostile forces" attempting to split China, the "splittist forces with Dalai as the leader" and "narrow nationalism". The fifth dealt with old customs, "irrational practices" and "feudal superstitions", as well as obscenity, gambling and drugs, which in Chen's view had caused very great harm to spiritual life. Chen also commented on the general poor understanding of science and culture, along with litter, noise and filth in urban areas. According to a Tibet Daily article of 11 November 1996, Chen had said that thus far, there had been a lack of systematic and consistent thinking and no clear and specific policy as to how Spiritual Civilisation was to be carried out.

Clearly, there is a relationship between Patriotic Education in the monasteries (subsequently extended to lay society) and the building of Spiritual Civilisation. Chen stated in his speech of 8 November 1996: "It is an arduous and prominent task in the Spiritual Civilisation construction of our region to unswervingly carry out Patriotic Education". It is certainly possible to view Patriotic Education as a part of, and as a means of implementing or pushing forward, Spiritual Civilisation. However, "building Spiritual Civilisation" can be perceived more easily as a concept than a campaign; in contrast, the Patriotic Education campaign has a clear scope, a set time frame, specific measures and goals. What has been common to both is the focus on attacking the Dalai Lama, his "clique" and any perceived "splittist" activity, and on the need for religion and religious activity to be adapted to, or to be subject to, the requirements of the State.

In fact, the nature of the Strike Hard campaign in Tibet has been determined in part by similar motivations: one of its primary focuses has been to attack "splittist" activity, albeit by means of the law rather than ideology. The Strike Hard campaign attempted to clear away prostitution, pornography and gambling; an article in the Tibet Daily of 16 January 1997, "Striving for new Strike Hard campaign victories", indicates that the basis for this was the Party Central Committee "Resolution on Enhancing the Establishment of Socialist Spiritual Civilisation and Other Related Questions". The implication is that the campaign had a role in preparing the ground for establishment of the "two civilisations".

In March 1997, a TAR propaganda meeting declared that "unprecedented progress" had been made in the building of Spiritual Civilisation. A practical analysis appeared in the Tibet Daily of 4 April 1997, arguing that constructing theory was the basis for constructing Spiritual Civilisation, and listing problems encountered in Tibet which were additional to those throughout China: in brief, resisting and defeating the infiltration of the Dalai's splittist ideology, handling the relationship between traditional ideology and socialist Spiritual Civilisation, actively guiding religion to suit socialist society, strengthening unity between nationalities and overcoming the influence of local nationalism. Further detail of the practical scope of the campaign emerged: measures to boost Spiritual Civilisation in prisons included raising the quality of the police profession's appearance, style of work and discipline.³ The People's Courts were said to be making efforts to strengthen the building of Spiritual Civilisation by paying close attention to the study of theory, implementing the spirit of important meetings and building professional ethics, with serving the people as the central task.⁴ Within the parameters of "building Spiritual Civilisation", a new emphasis was placed in the TAR government's annual work report for 1996 (delivered by Gyalsen Norbu, chairman of the TAR People's government, on 29 May 1997) on stressing the improvement of the Party's work style, the building of clean and honest government and the establishment of professional ethics.

¹ Quoted in Stuart R. Schram, "Ideology and Policy in China Since the Third Plenum, 1978-84", Contemporary China Institute, SOAS, London 1984

² See Hu Yaobang's report in *Hongqi*, no. 18 of 1982, cited in Schram, p34

³ Tibet Daily, 18 March 1997

⁴ Tibet Daily, 3 June 1997

The 15th National Party Congress in the autumn of 1997 was followed by the 3rd plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee in November of that year. In his speech to the session, entitled "The task of safeguarding the unity of the motherland and stability is of overriding importance", as reported in the Tibet Daily, TAR deputy Party secretary Ragdi emphasised that one of the [four most] important tasks for Tibet during the primary stage of socialism⁵ was to build socialist Spiritual Civilisation. Ragdi also set out six practical tasks, the first of which was to "hold high the great banner of Deng Xiaoping theory..."; this was needed for building socialist Spiritual Civilisation, struggling against splitism and promoting social and economic development, and was "our most important and most fundamental political foundation". Commentaries on the plenary session published in the Tibet Daily also indicated that hard work to implement Spiritual Civilisation was to continue. Notwithstanding this, it does not appear that any development in thinking had taken place; little space was actually devoted to discussion of the subject, and no very specific proposals were made.

However, the intention seemed to be that "building Spiritual Civilisation" should still appear to be a major priority.⁶

It would appear that this trend has continued into 1998. Brief mentions of "building Spiritual Civilisation" have appeared in speeches by Ragdi, Legqog and others.⁷ Legqog, shortly after his appointment as the new head of the TAR government, listed "building Spiritual Civilisation" among his goals for the new government. Gyaltzen Norbu, in his speech introducing the TAR government work report for 1997 (delivered 10 May 1998) simply listed Spiritual Civilisation together with democracy, socialist legal system and clean government as areas where great progress had been achieved, and listed (last) building Spiritual Civilisation as an area for future work.

One can only speculate about the reasons for the difference in emphasis. It may be that the continuing intense concern over separatism and pro-independence activities has ensured that in Tibet at least the emphasis has shifted to policies of greater practical use, away from the vaguer theories about Spiritual Civilisation. Another factor of perhaps rather wider significance is the shift towards greater

emphasis, seen towards the end of 1997 and particularly during the first half of 1998, on the study of Deng Xiaoping Theory. At the national level, a lengthy Party circular was issued on 30 June 1998 which focused on the need for Deng Theory to underpin all theoretical work; study work of Deng Theory was to be carried out for cadres from county level upwards, integrated with policy discussions, and with tests afterwards. As for the TAR, on 17 May 1998, at the close of the 1st session of the 7th TAR CPPCC, its chairman, Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, set out four requirements for members of the regional committee. The first of these was to "whip up an upsurge" in studying Deng Theory (said to be the "banner of the party and the people all over the country") and to conscientiously study, publicise and implement the spirit of the 15th Party Congress. Interestingly, Spiritual Civilisation is not even mentioned in this speech. Whether this represents a significant policy shift should become evident in the months to come, from the mention or lack of mention of "building Spiritual Civilisation" in speeches by TAR officials.

1. Building Spiritual Civilisation: Official Statements

Document 1: Speech by Chen Kuiyuan, 23 July 1996

The following extracts are from a speech delivered by Chen Kuiyuan during a mobilisation rally on the building of Spiritual Civilisation in Lhasa on 23 July 1996. Chen discusses the "outmoded traditions" which hold back Tibet's development, and the "hostile forces" which are "boycotting the Party's leadership over Spiritual Civilisation." He mentions some "acute" problems that face the Spiritual Civilisation drive in Tibet and emphasises the need to eradicate the influence of the Dalai Lama in the spiritual field. This speech (published in English by BBC Monitoring, 9 September 1996) marks the emergence in Tibet of building Spiritual Civilisation as an important objective.

On the Understanding of Several Questions Concerning Socialist Spiritual Civilisation

[...]Socialist Spiritual Civilisation is an essential component of the socialist society. The society of mankind is not

piled up with material products. The socialist society, future communist society and all other forms of society are integra-

tions of material and Spiritual Civilisation. Because of differences in the method of integration and the level of

⁵ As cited: "to build socialist Spiritual Civilisation, wage an in-depth struggle against splitism, safeguard the motherland's unity and unity among nationalities, and create a sound and stable social environment for economic development, reform and opening to the outside world." SWB FE/3102

⁶ At the national level, the building of Spiritual Civilisation received some emphasis at the turn of the year. On 25 December 1997, Ding Guangen (member of the Politburo, CCP Secretariat and chairman of the Central Guidance Committee for Building Spiritual Civilisation) set out six goals of Spiritual Civilisation work for 1998. In January 1998, at a central work conference sponsored by the Central Civilisation Committee, Wei Jianxing (another Politburo member) said: "To comprehensively implement the guidelines of the 15th National Party Congress, we should unwaveringly strengthen the building of Spiritual Civilisation". He added that the party should "persistently put building Spiritual Civilisation in a more prominent position". Interestingly, a report on the conclusion of this conference referred to it as the "National Conference on Ethical and Cultural Progress", rather than on Spiritual Civilisation.

⁷ Also, Tudeng Caiwang [Thubten Tsewang], the TAR chief procurator, said in a speech to the TAR People's Congress on 15 May 1998: "We shall continually intensify the building of socialist Spiritual Civilisation". Ragdi said in a speech that "strengthening the construction of grass-roots organisations in agricultural and pastoral areas is a fundamental measure to guarantee the building of Spiritual Civilisation with socialist orientation" (Tibet Daily, 11 January 1998).

development, different forms of society take shape. Only by persisting in promoting socialist ideology and culture can we uphold socialism in its entirety. In differentiating socialism from feudalism and capitalism, the level of productive forces is not the sole criterion. [...] If the country is weak in economic strength and slow in development and our people are poor, then we will not be able to fulfil the fundamental objective of socialism and, in the long run, will not be able to consolidate the socialist system. Likewise, if our country only promotes economic development without paying attention to building socialist Spiritual Civilisation, then the capitalist ideology will inevitably occupy our ideological and cultural front, our political power will change colour and the people's hard-earned material wealth will no longer belong to society; in a nutshell, we will end up letting others enjoy the fruits of our labour.

[...] Destruction and construction are needed in carrying out the construction of socialist Spiritual Civilisation. [...] In the course of our progress we should be bold in eliminating the old and ushering in the new, in departing from the moral influence of old feudalism and the influence of tradition, in getting rid of outmoded regulations and irrational practices that hinder the drive of socialist modernisation... We should have the courage to put up resolute struggle against the ideologies, corruptive thinking, and corrosive influences of the West and resist them effectively.

[...] At present, there are heaps of rocks everywhere by the streets of Lhasa city that distort neighbourhood orderliness and that even obstruct traffic. Some people scatter barley flour at the streets. Why are these things that did not happen in the old society rampant now? Roaming from place to place, avoiding productive work, turning the prayer wheels all the year round, and begging everywhere, many people have not only hampered their own interests, but have also ruined the Tibetan people's image.

[...] In the course of facilitating the Spiritual Civilisation drive and social actions, we regularly encounter the Dalai clique's disturbances and sabotages. Politically, the Dalai clique has long been overthrown and its standing prestiges have been revoked. However, it is still having impact ideologically. [...] While making greater efforts to bluff and deceive in the international community in recent years, the Dalai clique has intensified its infiltrations into Tibet. [...] In recent years, the Dalai clique which is

near the dead end has been ready to make reckless moves: Sometimes, it carried out "peacefully push forward" acts, while at other times it publicized uncooperative movement, sending special agents with weapons to stage explosion sabotages...but they have not posed as a major threat to us. The main battlefield of our struggles against the Dalai clique is in the spiritual field. We should fully understand the combat conditions in the spiritual field and cannot underestimate Dalai's spiritual influence[...] If we leave a tiny space in the spiritual field for Dalai, we definitely will be under others' control politically. Some people proposed: When criticizing Dalai, we should separate Dalai religiously and politically. As we all know, Dalai Lama was one of the traditional leaders of the Tibetan Buddhist circle. At present, however, the 14th Dalai has betrayed the aim of Buddhism and the Buddhist code of conduct, and become a leader of a political splittist clique and a tool of Western hostile forces that hampers China's security. He uses religion as his weapon, shield, and capital. How do we fight him if we do not seize his weapon, shield, and capital? Failure to do so means we are fighting Dalai's shadow. To stage struggles against Dalai, we should first strip Dalai's religious jacket, and expose his real colours. Only then can we educate the broad masses of people to shake off his influence and attain victory in the struggles. When dealing with Dalai's double faces, we should not bother whether we need to separate them. To realistically stage struggles against Dalai, we only need to grasp his vital parts, and expose his disguise. Positive and negative experiences over the past many years told us: One of Tibet's important tasks in facilitating Spiritual Civilisation drive is to screen and eliminate Dalai's influence in the spiritual field. If we fail to accomplish this task, we cannot claim to have attained any great results in facilitating the Spiritual Civilisation drive.

Correctly handling the issue of religion and establishing a proper concept of religion is a crucial issue of promoting Tibet's cultural and ideological progress. Religion is legitimate in China. The Constitution provides that citizens enjoy freedom of religious belief. But it also clearly states that religion must be compatible with the socialist society [as published; the PRC Constitution does not have this clause]. This is the role religion plays in our national system and policy. However, viewing the issue from the angle of promoting cultural and ideological progress, communists must

clearly understand that religion is not a correct world outlook. In all historical periods and in any country, religion has never been able to lead people to achieve freedom and happiness. Being a religious believer engaging in normal religious activities does not go against - or clash with - our social system, and thus it is not subject to any restriction. This means that a small number of people may engage in professional religious activities while the majority of people are engaged in construction. During their spare time after they have done their work or accomplished their normal construction assignments, religious believers may take part in activities in line with their religious belief. We can tolerate these activities provided that they do not clash with our social system. If religion is used by reactionary forces and becomes their tool for undermining social stability and subverting our political power, it has gone to the wrong side and it is no longer legitimate. This is an observation from a political perspective. In terms of world outlook, religion's world outlook is an idealistic one, which essentially contravenes socialist ideals and convictions as well as the proletarian world outlook.

Ideologically, materialism and atheism are the antitheses of idealism and theism. When we say that religion should be compatible with our socialist society, we are saying that this is the basic requirement for religion, and not that religion has already been fully compatible with our socialist system in Tibet. In the spiritual realm, in particular, the masses would not be heading towards socialism if they fully accept the guidance of religion. Because of their religious belief, many people are following the Dalai Lama in splitting the motherland and doing what is endangering socialism. If religious figures and religious believers correctly understand and believe Buddhist doctrines and, at the same time, accept the guidance set for promoting cultural and ideological progress in the ideological, cultural, and moral respects, they still can become honest socialist builders and safeguard national unity and follow the socialist path. Marxism maintains that religion is a spiritual opiate that can numb people's minds. When religion is used by certain people as a political tool, its toxicity will become even more conspicuous. Tibet's actual situation shows that, with respect to promoting cultural and ideological progress, we must use progressive thinking and scientific world outlook to guide the people to shake off religion which bounds people's minds with ideal-

istic world outlook and the pessimistic mentality that they should wait for the next world. Of course, this is not a project

that can be accomplished shortly or forcefully. However, as far as attaining the target of promoting cultural and

ideological progress is concerned, this is a very important, conspicuous, and crucial assignment. [...]

Document 2: Speech by Chen Kuiyuan, 8 November 1996

In a speech on 8 November 1996 at the 2nd plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee, Chen Kuiyuan identifies several problems affecting stability, development, spiritual matters and production in the TAR. He attacks customs and traditions that impede development and calls religious "idealism" a "striking hindrance" to the building of Spiritual Civilisation in Tibet. He says that the building of Spiritual Civilisation is an urgent task and puts forward ideas for its implementation. These include ideological development with patriotism and socialism as the centre, ethical development, the transformation of social traditions, conducting education in the Marxist outlook on nationalities, and an approach to religion with a materialist world outlook. The following are excerpts from his speech (as published in SWB FE/D2T80). Headings in square brackets have been added for ease of reference by TIN.

Comrades:

The 2nd plenary (enlarged) session of the 5th TAR Party Committee will end today [8th November 1996].

[Problems in the field of Spiritual Civilisation]

During the meeting, we came to the unanimous conclusion that our region has many special problems in the aspect of Spiritual Civilisation and that it is necessary and urgent to strengthen the construction of Spiritual Civilisation.

1. Western hostile forces support the Dalai clique and attempt to use Tibet as a breakthrough point for "Westernising" and "breaking up" China. The struggle against "Westernisation", and particularly "breaking up", exists every hour and every minute and will continue to exist for a long time to come. This is an acute class struggle in the spiritual aspect of our region. It is an arduous and prominent task in the Spiritual Civilisation construction of our region to unwaveringly carry out Patriotic Education, foster the ideal of safeguarding the unity of the motherland and resist the ideological penetration of Western hostile forces and the Dalai clique.

2. The splittist forces with Dalai as the leader propagate the thinking of "Tibet Independence", create the public opinion for splittism and instigate disturbances by using religious influence with Western media as a main channel and monasteries as key positions. They are fairly deceptive and instigative because they are good at camouflaging themselves under the cloak of religion to poison the broad masses of the people. Affected by splittist forces, Tibetan Buddhism experiences malignant expansion in the negative side, its purpose and doctrine are distorted, and Buddhist disciplines are violated. Religious believers, and even some Party members

and cadres, are not able to free themselves from the shackles of their outlook on the world as seen from religious idealism. Instead of devoting their intelligence and endeavours to the welfare of society and the people, they waste their precious time in futile efforts praying for individual happiness in the next world; instead of using their limited financial resources to improve their economic condition, they unrestrictedly donate their money to monasteries; and instead of letting their children receive modern education, they send them to monasteries to become a monk or a nun. Such negative thinking and behaviour prevent science and technology from spreading and impede the development of productive forces. Hostile forces are making their utmost efforts to expand religious fronts in social and spiritual life and attempt to attract people, including youths and children, to their splittist side by using the lever of religion.

3. Due to special natural, geographical, historical and cultural conditions, the brand of feudal serfdom has been deeply stamped. Although the system of feudal serfdom has been scrapped, thanks to the Party's special policy of meticulously and steadily promoting democratic reform and socialist revolution in Tibet, its influence has not been rooted out. Many things belonging to feudalism come back under certain circumstances; even dregs of feudalism, which have been destroyed in democratic reform, revive. The concepts of social strata and autocracy by patriarchal clans in feudal society, temples' practice of amassing wealth by collecting money from the people and feudal superstitious activities, for example, have shown signs of resurgence.

4. Under the "splittist" plot of Western hostile forces and the Dalai's splittist ideas, narrow nationalism is expanding its

position and influence with utmost efforts which has created ideological chaos among some cadres, intellectuals, monks, nuns and young people. Narrow nationalism is undermining national unity and the force that draws all nationalities to the motherland, and is apt to become a hotbed for splittism.

5. Many outmoded regulations and irrational practices in contradiction with science, detrimental to national development, and harmful to people's interests still exist. Some have been rescinded but their influence remains, some are revived and some are incorporated into the corrupt lifestyle of the bourgeoisie. The return of old customs is seen in production and business activities as well as in cultural life, such as weddings and funerals. Feudal superstition and widespread obscenity, gambling, and drugs in particular, have constituted very great harm to the spiritual life of the people and in society.

6. Hostile forces inside and outside Tibet, on campuses and in society, are struggling with us, by legal and illegal methods and means, to win over the youth and successors. The influence of religion and wrong ideological trends still exist in teaching materials and activities of some schools. Chinese laws clearly stipulate that religions are not allowed to intervene in education, but on some campuses, splittist ideology and religious idealism are seriously poisoning our posterity and obstructing the implementation of the Party's educational principles.

7. Cadres, staff, workers and labourers' poor understanding of science and culture cannot meet the requirements for building material civilisation and Spiritual Civilisation and for revitalising Tibet.

8. Rectification of urban environment and social order needs to be strengthened. Street vendors and many adults as well as

street urchins have fouled up the urban environment by randomly dumping garbage, throwing slops and relieving themselves everywhere on the street. Facilities for religious purposes and various activities have their own ways regardless of the appearance of the city and the urban management system. Urban noises go ungoverned, loudspeakers are turned on at will, and the yelling of people is frequently heard on the Yaowang Shan. All of these types of behaviour harm a city's environment and its image of civilisation.

The impact of the aforementioned problems on Tibet's stability, development, spiritual aspect and production life has reached a very serious extent. Therefore, strengthening the building of Spiritual Civilisation in Tibet is not only necessary, but also specific and urgent. The peculiarity of Tibet's problems in the spiritual aspect is that Tibet is too deeply tied up and influenced by Tibetan Buddhism as well as old systems, customs and concepts, which are so deep-rooted and so hard to change. Whether we dare to unshackle the spiritual fetters of the Tibetan people and carry out the Party Central Committee's strategic arrangement for building Spiritual Civilisation is vital to the future look of society and people in Tibet. Comrade Xiaoping said: Do not refuse to change, for we will not make progress if we refuse to change. We Communists are not inactive observers and we would lose our own value, if we only know there are certain customs and taboos in Tibet and are not good at guiding the people to overcome backward and foolish traditions, customs and prejudice in line with the party's ideal and modern civilisation, so that they will foster lofty ideals and morality and adopt healthy and civilized habits and customs. The Party's mass line does not, under any circumstances, mean that the Party and government can only follow the masses. It would be a loss to communist principles and ethics if we paid no heed to the mistakes and sufferings of the masses, and ignored their extreme misery.

[Comments on Implementation]

We should profoundly understand that the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee's decision on paying close attention to Spiritual Civilisation building is very wise. By taking advantage of this mighty east wind, with the plenary session's "Resolution" and

Comrade Jiang Zemin's speech as the guide, and by making use of the fine political situation which has emerged since the region implemented the guidelines of the Third Forum on Work in Tibet held by the central authorities, we should launch a strategic, powerful and sustained offensive in the spiritual field. This will have incomparable and far-reaching significance in the region's Spiritual Civilisation building, maintenance of stability, and acceleration of development.

To implement the guidelines of the "Resolution", a great deal of attention should be paid to the following main points at present:

1) Ideological development with patriotism and socialism as the centre. We should safeguard the motherland's dignity and fundamental interests, oppose splitism and the Western plot of division, disseminate the truth with perfect assurance that only socialism can save and develop Tibet, criticise and expose the cruelty and darkness of the feudal slave system. Educating cadres, the masses and the vast numbers of young people to love the motherland and socialism is the primary task of ideological development.

2) Ethical development with service to the people as the core and collectivism as the principle. Particular stress should be placed on the formation of a healthy, upward-looking, civilised and progressive social environment characterised by fraternity, harmony, hard work and frugality, with Party style and professional ethics taking the lead.

3) Transforming social traditions and conscientiously and firmly eradicating the poisoning of the masses and society by bad customs and habits. Feudal social estate, feudal patriarchal clanism, feudal superstition and the feudal marriage system should definitely not be allowed to spread unchecked. The vagrants who are not engaged in productive labour should be better managed and guided, and the entire society is encouraged to take care of and create living and study conditions for homeless children leading a vagrant life.

4) Conducting education in the Marxist outlook on nationalities among party members, cadres, intellectuals and young people in accordance with Jiang Zemin's directive of "willingly restraining the influence of narrow nationalism" and firmly resisting and eradicating the national prejudice and hatred vigorously preached by Western hostile forces and

the Dalai Lama clique with a view to splitting our country. Education in national unity should be conducted among the broad masses of the people.

5) Correctly approaching religion with a materialist world outlook. Lenin said: "Religion is the opium of the people - this famous remark by Marx is the bedrock of the Marxist world outlook on the issue of religion." As always we have comprehensively implemented the Party's policy on religion, not interfered in normal religious activities, and protected the people's freedom with conviction. However, we should correctly approach religion with the Marxist outlook on religion. In the region's building of Spiritual Civilisation, religious idealism constitutes a striking hindrance. In accordance with the Party Central Committee's directives, we should "criticise idealism (including theism) with Marxist philosophy and conduct education in the dialectical materialist and historical materialist scientific world outlook among the masses of the people, the vast numbers of young people in particular". The revival of feudal privileges should definitely not be allowed. We should ensure that religion and the socialist society are suited to each other. We should combine the study and implementation of the guidelines of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee with General Secretary Jiang Zemin's speech and other central leading comrades' speeches at the Third Forum on Work in Tibet and the directives of the Party Central Committee and the State Council. Particularly, the ideological and political principles and policies are the fundamental bases for the region's Spiritual Civilisation building. The ideological and political principles and requirements set by the Third Forum on Work in Tibet are not outmoded. On the contrary, they can really be implemented only by thoroughly carrying out the building of Spiritual Civilisation. [...]

Promoting Spiritual Civilisation is also a long-term endeavour to eliminate the Dalai's influence and to lay reliable ideological and social foundations for long-term stability and order. Therefore, Party organisations at all levels should proceed from the strategic height of overall interests in understanding the great significance of the building of Spiritual Civilisation and our responsibility towards history. [...] Party leaders at all levels must dare to implement the "Resolution"⁸ of the 6th plenary session [of the 14th Central Committee] and the

⁸"Resolution on Enhancing the Establishment of Socialist Spiritual Civilisation and Other Related Questions."

TAR Party Committee's "Suggestion"⁹, to struggle against the Dalai clique and religious idealism, and to do mass work. Only by bravely exercising leadership can a leader exercise effective leadership. Leaders who are devoid of such bravery and are timid in the face of religious idealism cannot exercise effective leadership. The task of Party organisations is to transform society and educate the masses in advanced ideology and ethics, raising the people's ideological, ethical, cultural and scientific qualities to the level commensurate with the times, but not to blindly follow the steps of the masses and social customs. We should understand the law of history that progressiveness can transform backwardness and science can prevail over ignorance. We should trust the masses of people who, after distinguishing right from wrong, are willing to follow the Party in the march to future happiness. We should not evade responsibility for guiding the masses, nor should we be afraid of habitual forces [sic]. I have faith in the truth, which Comrade Mao Zedong enunciated repeatedly, that there is no reason why the Communist Party should be afraid of the masses.

In strengthening leadership over the building of Spiritual Civilisation, it is of utmost importance to translate the guidelines with concrete action. The "Resolution" of the 6th plenary session and the TAR Party Committee's "Suggestion" contain both theoretical expositions as well as political require-

ments and specific measures. If we merely pay lip service to the documents while ignoring the reality in each locality, department, or unit, if we lose touch with groups of Party members, cadres, and ordinary people or if we do not remove the age-old evil habits and customs, all correct decisions and measures will fail. In strengthening leadership, it is not necessary to take pains to do things differently and formally; what is most important is concrete action. Those at higher levels should supervise those at lower levels. All departments, prefectures (cities), and counties should, in light of the actual condition in each department or locality, identify major contradictions, clarify tasks and objectives, set targets and adopt measures. The advanced personalities publicised by the Central Committee for their outstanding contributions in promoting the two civilisations on various fronts, have made themselves examples in noble ideas and fine professional ethics. All departments should emulate these advanced personalities and, based on the work and functions of each department or trade, draw up the pledge of service or other forms of showing new professional work style to embody the spirit of serving the people and measures for social supervision, thereby demonstrating a new outlook of professional ethics to the masses. [...]

After this meeting, all prefectures, counties and departments should earnestly study and implement the guidelines of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party

Central Committee and the "Suggestion of the TAR Party Committee on Implementing the Guidelines of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee", and boldly shoulder the great strategic task of facilitating socialist Spiritual Civilisation. While studying from now to the end of 1996, we should also begin to implement the guidelines of the 6th plenary session and the TAR Party Committee's "Suggestion". As the Party Central Committee and the TAR Party Committee have formulated the "Resolution" and "Suggestion", Party committees at various levels need not formulate respective "resolutions". They should just earnestly carry out the "Resolution" and "Suggestion" at their own levels. They should ensure production of results and create new images and atmosphere. We should comprehensively conduct Patriotic Education programmes in monasteries and establish normal order there. By enhancing Spiritual Civilisation construction, we will let a new wave of Spiritual Civilisation prevail across Tibet; cleanse the feudal, foolish and backward atmosphere poisoned by the Dalai clique; and let a modern socialist Spiritual Civilisation firmly implant, bloom and bear fruit in Tibet. Definitely party organisations at various levels in Tibet - armed with a healthy development in material and Spiritual Civilisation - will confidently lead Tibet's people to move on to the new century.

Document 3: Report on the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee

This article was published in the Tibet Daily dated 11 November 1996. It sets out the points made in Chen Kuiyuan's speech to the plenary session relating to the Spiritual Civilisation drive. In this speech, Chen says that there had been no systematic guidance, nor a clear and specific policy, about Spiritual Civilisation. So far, he said, no overall effect had been achieved by the drive. He said that Spiritual Civilisation construction was a key component in the construction of socialist modernisation and that it was also the key to struggling against and defeating the "Dalai clique". [TIN Ref N96N005a]

Study and implement the spirit of the 6th plenum of the 14th Central Committee Initiate a new phase in our region's construction of Spiritual Civilisation

The 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee opened in Lhasa on 4 November. From Tibet Daily's correspondent

Thirty eight members of the TAR Party Committee, as well as 5 alternate members, attended this meeting. Delegates of the Regional Commission for Discipline Inspection, provincial level Party members and cadres, each Party, government and mass department under

direct regional control, important responsible comrades from each local county/city as well as local city/county propaganda department chiefs, attended the meeting as non-voting delegates.

The meeting was presided over by TAR Party Secretary Chen Kuiyuan.

Ragdi, Deputy Secretary of the TAR Party Committee and Chairman of the TAR People's Congress, and Gyaincain Norbu, Deputy Secretary of the TAR Party Committee and TAR chairman, separately relayed the important speech of General Secretary Jiang Zemin at the 6th

⁹-Suggestion of the Tibet Autonomous Regional Party Committee on Implementing the Guidelines of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 14th Party Central Committee."

plenum of the 14th Party Central Committee.

Guo Jinlong, Basang, Danzim, Leggog, Hu Yongzhu, Tsultrim, Buqiong, Lu Huimin, Li Guangwen, Li Ligu, and Samzhub attended the meeting.

While presiding over the meeting, Comrade Chen Kuiyuan pointed out: the tasks of the meeting are to study and pass on the spirit of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee and to diligently research the TAR Party Committee's ideas about carrying out the "Resolution" of the 6th Plenum of the 14th Party Central Committee. He said: the 6th Plenum of the 14th Party Central Committee was a very important meeting, and the speech made by Comrade Jiang Zemin and the "Resolution" approved by the entire Central Committee are the fundamental basis and programmatic documents for the whole Party and people of the whole country in strengthening the construction of socialist Spiritual Civilisation under the new historical conditions. He hoped that Party organisations of all levels throughout the region and the broad masses of Party members would fully and in an all-round way understand the spirit and great tactical significance of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee. At the same time Comrade Chen Kuiyuan set out the importance of this enlarged plenary session. He said, this is a meeting for studying the long-term development of Tibet and for the overall implementation of the Party's basic line in Tibet, with great strategic significance, which needs to be fully recognised by the comrades attending this meeting.

Since the 4th TAR Party Congress, and especially since the Centre's Third Forum on Work in Tibet, and after our region obtained certain achievements in construction of the two civilisations, Comrade Chen Kuiyuan pointed out: it is essential to be aware that many problems exist in the spiritual field in our region, and moreover some of them are compara-

tively serious. Even though we have done much work in grasping the construction aspect of Spiritual Civilisation, there is a lack of systematic guidance. Until now, there has been no thinking [silu] formed which is common to all levels, which is a system for consistent action or which is clear, nor has a clear and specific policy [cuoshi] been established, as to how in the end Spiritual Civilisation is to be carried out [zhua] in Tibet. Therefore, previously our implementation of construction of Spiritual Civilisation was only the carrying out of specific tasks, so no overall effect has been achieved. He said: at present, when our region is comprehensively implementing Comrade Deng Xiaoping's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, comprehensively carrying out the Party's basic line and taking steps toward long term peace and order, on the one hand we want to pay attention at all times to the core of economic construction and the basic point of reform and opening up and promoting the continuous forward development of the Tibetan economy; at the same time we must uphold the four cardinal principles and carry out [zhua] the construction of the Party with construction of ranks of cadres and of leading bodies as the core; [and we must] carry out well the construction of socialist Spiritual Civilisation in the whole of the Party and the whole of society. If construction of Spiritual Civilisation is carried out well in the whole Party and the whole of society, then there will be a good ideological, social, and mass foundation for safeguarding stability and opposing splits; if we have a good foundation in Spiritual Civilisation, then our socialist economic construction will have formidable spiritual impetus and intellectual support.

He said: the construction of Spiritual Civilisation is a key component in the construction of socialist modernisation. Speaking specifically of Tibet, construction of Spiritual Civilisation is also where the key lies to deciding the

victor in carrying out vigorous struggle against and finally defeating the Dalai clique; it is where the key lies to the development and progress of each nationality of Tibet and of the Tibetan plateau, promoting themselves to the ranks of advanced regions and advanced nationalities. He emphasised: Tibet's construction of Spiritual Civilisation cannot be allowed to stagnate for no reason. Each local Party organisation should begin to undertake the responsibility for constructing Spiritual Civilisation in their own area, should be clearly aware of the grand meaning and tactical significance of the construction of Spiritual Civilisation, recognise the special problems and special social environment faced when carrying out the construction of Spiritual Civilisation in Tibet, and solve problems of Spiritual Civilisation construction in ideological, moral, cultural, and other fields.

Comrade Chen Kuiyuan emphasised that the key to the success of the meeting was in uniting it with reality. He asked everyone to comprehend the spirit of the Central Committee, and by means of a high level of awareness and an attitude of great responsibility towards Tibetan industry and the Tibetan people, and with a definite object in view, to find solutions to the old thinking, old customs, old traditions and old culture in our region's spiritual field, which block development, impede stability and affect the Tibetan people in liberating their thinking and in establishing socialist thought, culture and morality, and to investigate diligently specific measures and ideas for strengthening construction of Spiritual Civilisation in the region. With this as a starting point, we must lead construction of Spiritual Civilisation in the region onto a new track, and lead the thinking, morals and culture of our whole society and the broad mass of the people onto the road of socialism and communism.

Document 4: Interview with Chen Kuiyuan, 3 December 1996

During the 2nd plenary (enlarged) session of the 5th TAR Party Committee, at which he made the speech printed above as Document 2, Chen Kuiyuan was interviewed by a reporter from Renmin Ribao (People's Daily). The following report is the text of this interview (reproduced by SWB on 7 December 1996).

Strengthening Ideological education and Improving moral quality - Interviewing Chen Kuiyuan, secretary of the TAR Party Committee

At the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee convened early last November, the participants discussed the major programme of

Spiritual Civilisation building with a feeling of joy. During a recess in the meeting, this reporter had an interview with Comrade Chen Kuiyuan, secretary of

the TAR Party Committee, on the building of ethics.

"Secretary Chen, what is the aim of Tibet's ethical building?" asked this

reporter, coming straight to the point.

Upon hearing the question, Comrade Chen Kuiyuan, who had just come out of the conference hall, smiled a smile of understanding before giving a forceful answer: "It has been defined by the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee that the building of ethics should centre around the principle of serving the people. This definition has raised the essence and connotation of socialist ethics to a new level, demanded that every citizen adapt his or her moral quality to the needs of the country's modernisation drive, and enabled the entire Chinese nation to attain a more novel and higher realm of thought. Speaking of Tibet, the point of departure and the aim of our ethical building is to help enhance the ideological and ethical quality, as well as the scientific and cultural quality, of the vast numbers of the Tibetan people, and bring about comprehensive development to Tibet."

This reporter has learned that the autonomous region has done a great deal of work in enhancing the scientific and cultural quality of its people, put forward the principle of "invigorating Tibet through promoting science and technology", given first priority to the development of education, devoted vigorous efforts to promoting elementary

education, sent children of outstanding performance to inland areas for further studies, and set up night schools for peasants and herders on an extensive scale. "In what effective ways has Tibet carried out its ethical building?" this reporter then asked.

Comrade Chen Kuiyuan pondered for a short while before he answered: "The building of ethics is composed of social morality, vocational ethics and family virtues. As for Tibet, its biggest social morality for the time being is, in my opinion, to develop the spirit of patriotism, consciously safeguard the unity of the motherland, promote friendship and unity among cadres and masses of different nationalities, and bring about common growth and common progress. Everybody has the responsibility to safeguard national unity and maintain stability, while patriotism is a lofty sentiment and the most essential moral requirement that ought to be possessed by every one of our citizens. Without stability, we cannot begin to talk about the happiness of the Tibetan people of all nationalities. As concerns the building of vocational ethics, the TAR Party committee and government of Tibet have demanded that all party and government organs, judicial organs and all trades and industries, which are closely related to the

production and life of all our people, follow the examples of Kong Fansen and Chen Jinshui, play an exemplary role in ideological and ethical building, further propagate the spirit of those working in Tibet in the old [...], love and respect their work, make selfless dedication and serve the people wholeheartedly."

When talking about Tibet's building of family virtues, Comrade Chen Kuiyuan pointed out: The key to this lies with our efforts to change prevailing habits and customs, raise the scientific and cultural level of the masses, and create a healthy, hygienic and civilised living environment. We will constantly eliminate the outmoded conventions and bad customs that are harmful to the physical and mental health of the people; deal resolute blows, as always, at such evil phenomena as pornography, gambling and drug-related crimes; work hard to do away with feudal and superstitious practices; and make continued efforts to educate and guide the masses to lead a scientific and civilised new life.

"Tibet's transient lagging economic growth is an objective reality, yet its building of Spiritual Civilisation ought not to lag," Comrade Chen Kuiyuan told this reporter with full confidence.

Document 5

The following is the text of the first of eight Tibet Daily commentaries on "Earnestly studying and implementing the guidelines of the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee". Published in the 21 November 1996 edition of the Lhasa-based paper, this commentary discusses the Dalai Lama and states that the main battle against him is in the spiritual field. Patriotism is spoken of as a "primary project" in upgrading the overall qualities of the whole nation, and the form Patriotic Education should take in promoting Spiritual Civilisation is discussed. The dominant task in building Spiritual Civilisation in the TAR is to "eliminate the Dalai's spiritual influence, to foil the Dalai clique's plot for "Tibet independence" completely and to safeguard the unity of the motherland", according to the article. See Documents 6 and 7 below for the sixth and eighth commentaries in the series.

Safeguarding the unity of the motherland is a prominent task in building Spiritual Civilisation in Tibet

On conscientiously studying and implementing the spirit of the Resolution of the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee

Along with the mighty East Wind, an enthusiastic movement to study, publicise and implement the guidelines of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee and the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee has been sweeping across the Tibet plateau. Before we can properly study and implement the guidelines of the two sessions and enhance Tibet's Spiritual Civilisation construction to a higher level, we have to fulfil an important requirement: We have to understand what

are the tasks facing Tibet's Spiritual Civilisation construction and what acute problems need to be resolved. As far as Tibet is concerned, to eliminate the Dalai's spiritual influence, to foil the Dalai clique's plot for "Tibet independence" completely and to safeguard the unity of the motherland are important political tasks facing the masses of cadres and people of various nationalities, are dominant tasks in Tibet's Spiritual Civilisation construction; and are the most sacred missions shouldered by the 2.3

million people of various nationalities across Tibet.

After failing in his armed rebellion and fleeing Tibet in 1959, the Dalai has always upheld his reactionary stance of betraying and splitting the motherland. Particularly in recent years, he has intensified his efforts to split the motherland: While scheming and instigating riots within Tibet, he has collaborated with international anti-China forces, futilely attempting to internationalise Tibet issues. Many facts show that the Dalai has been

the leader of the splittist political group that schemes for Tibet's independence, has been a loyal stooge of the international anti-China forces, has been the principal source that creates social disturbances in Tibet, and has been the biggest obstacle to the establishment of a normal order in Tibetan Buddhism. If we let the Dalai's plot for "Tibet independence" succeed, economic progress, social stability and the earnest expectations of Tibet's people of various nationalities that "we expeditiously transform the backward image and establish a new united, wealthy and civilised Tibet" will all vanish. Therefore, our struggles against the Dalai clique absolutely do not involve issues of religion and autonomy, but political issues of safeguarding the unity of the motherland and opposing splittism. People regard the motherland as their own mother. All of us, as her children safeguarding her dignity, should regard the task of safeguarding the motherland's unity as our unshirkable sacred duty.

In recent years, under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee and the TAR Party Committee and government, we have achieved a series of victories in fighting the splittist struggles. However, the splittist forces led by the Dalai will definitely not give up easily. They will only change their formats and continually carry out criminal and evil activities to split the motherland and to disrupt Tibet. The Dalai clique is unable and unqualified to compete with us in other fields. Therefore, the main battlefield of our struggles against the Dalai clique lies in the spiritual field. We definitely cannot ignore the Dalai clique's ideological influence in the spiritual field. Exactly as the "Suggestion of the TAR Party Committee on Implementing the Guidelines of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee" pointed out: Western hostile forces will not change their schemes to "Westernize" and "split" us; the Dalai clique's ideological infiltration in Tibet is still very fierce; the struggles between ourselves

and the splittist forces to compete for positions, for the masses, for young people and for the leadership over temples are still very fierce; and the Dalai's spiritual influence over the masses still prevails. While carrying out these activities, they will use religion as their disguise to poison the broad masses of people, which is deceptive and demagogic [*shandongxing*]. The serious problems facing us are: Failing to understand the seriousness of the Dalai clique's ideological infiltration, some of our comrades do not stage effective struggles against such activities; are unable justly and forcefully to publicise the fact that only socialism can save and develop Tibet; are unable to criticise and expose the brutality and darkness of the feudal serf system; and are unable justly and forcefully to publicise materialism (including atheism). We should pay close attention to such inadequacies. We must be bold, boldly stage resolute struggles against the Dalai clique and religious idealism, and boldly hold high the glorious banner of patriotism in various fields.

The people of various nationalities in Tibet have the glorious tradition of safeguarding national unity and the unity of the motherland. In light of the protracted, arduous and glorious historic mission whereby we safeguard the unity of the motherland and oppose splittism, and so that we thoroughly crush the Dalai clique's plot for "Tibetan independence", we should further promote and enhance this tradition. Consequently, we must persistently carry out Patriotic Education, regard Patriotic Education as an important part of Spiritual Civilisation construction and give priority to Patriotic Education while launching ideological education programmes. For some time, Tibet has generally paid attention to Patriotic Education, launching various educational activities, including national flag-raising and national anthem-singing ceremonies. It has played a very effective role in promoting a patriotic spirit, in enhancing patriotic enthusiasm and in firmly estab-

lishing the concept of the motherland of which Tibet is an inalienable part. Meanwhile, we should also understand: Patriotic Education is a primary project that aims to upgrade the overall qualities of the whole nation. We should lay firm foundations, refrain from expecting to attain accomplishments overnight and unwaveringly uphold it for a long time.

Meanwhile, we should also pay attention to its contents and forms, formulate realistic programmes, and conduct Patriotic Education while doing actual work. Furthermore, we should mobilise the whole of society jointly to participate and administer, form rallying forces and jointly shoulder the responsibilities of conducting Patriotic Education among the cadres and masses. We need to point out: While conducting Patriotic Education among the broad masses of people, we should pay particular attention to conducting Patriotic Education among the broad masses of youngsters, resolutely eliminate the poison left in youngsters by splittist and religious idealist ideologies, make youngsters accept patriotism as their spiritual pillar and as a sharp weapon to beat the Dalai clique's ideological infiltration and enable them to form the concepts of cherishing the motherland and socialism when they are very young, so that they will become the Chinese nation's new generation of young people "who have revolutionary ideals, sound morals, good education and a strong sense of discipline".

We believe: While launching Patriotic Education through abundant and colourful activities under the glorious banner of patriotism, people of various nationalities in Tibet will further enhance their invincible force of coalescence and centripetal forces; build an indestructible steel bulwark while launching the great struggles of safeguarding the unity of the motherland and opposing splittism; further strengthen the propelling forces for reform and development; and attain more splendid accomplishments in facilitating material and Spiritual Civilisation construction.

Document 6: Commentary published in Tibet Daily, 6 December 1996

The following is the sixth of eight commentaries on "Earnestly studying and implementing the guidelines of the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee". The commentary states that the guidelines of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Central Committee and the 2nd plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee require the elevation of social and ethical standards and the improvement of the social environment. Elevating social and ethical standards is seen as a part of Spiritual Civilisation. The commentary then sets out suggestions for implementation, concentrating first on urban areas (particularly Lhasa): eliminating filth and disorder, criminal behaviour, developing the economy and remoulding social customs and habits, and then setting out what should be done in rural areas to carry out education in patriotism and to popularise scientific knowledge. Headings in

square brackets have been added by TIN for ease of reference. (Published in SWB FE/2807)

Firmly elevate the standards of social ethics - sixth commentary on earnestly studying and implementing the guidelines of the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee

To elevate our social ethical standards and "create a healthy, friendly, harmonious, diligent, frugal, civilized and progressive social environment"; that is what is required under the guidelines of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee and the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee. Elevating our social and ethical standards is an important element for building socialist Spiritual Civilisation. It is also a specific requirement and a reflection of socialist Spiritual Civilisation. Making our society more civilised requires us to improve the standards of every individual and the entire society and to create a fine ecological, human and social environment. This will lay a strong foundation for promoting material and Spiritual Civilisation.

Our region has done a tremendous amount of work and has scored success in building the Spiritual Civilisation. However, due to various factors, our social ethical standards are relatively low. Dirty, messy, substandard goods and places and uncivilised behaviour still exist in our society, obstructing our region's reform, opening up and economic construction, and hindering the smooth development of Spiritual Civilisation. This is why it has become especially necessary and important to raise social ethical standards and strengthen the building of Spiritual Civilisation in our region.

[Suggestions for Implementation]

How to raise our region's social ethical standards? We do so by concentrating primarily on promoting the building of socialist Spiritual Civilisation in urban, rural and pastoral areas. First, the urban areas. We must launch in a down-to-earth manner different forms of mass activities to build Spiritual Civilisation. We must raise ethical standards in urban areas and, along with it, the improvement of ethical standards in rural and pastoral areas. Why do we need to concentrate on urban areas and use them to bring about the improvement of ethical standards in rural and pastoral areas? It is primarily because urban areas occupy an important place in our region and have strong superiority, not only in terms of politics, the economy and transport but also in terms of cultural development. For years, urban areas have scored tremendous achievements in safeguarding social stability and in

building material and Spiritual Civilisation and have made positive contributions to Tibet's economic construction and social development. However, we must not overlook the fact that dirty, messy and substandard phenomena are widespread; various feudal superstitious activities rampant; and all kinds of uncivilised behaviour contradicting socialist morality are affecting urban environment and civilised image. To meet the needs of our region's stability and development, along with the establishment and development of our socialist market economy, there is an urgent need to raise the overall ethical standards of our citizens and cities and bring into play the exemplary role of our urban areas, particularly Lhasa City, in building and promoting Spiritual Civilisation in both urban and rural areas.

To strengthen the building of Spiritual Civilisation, we must use Lhasa as the focal point in launching the "three-quality" drive, the drive to create a fine environment, good public order and quality service. We must extensively publicise and cultivate among cadres, workers and citizens the idea of relying on the people to build and manage our cities. We must mobilise the masses to eliminate filth, disorder and substandard goods and behaviour and cultivate fine social practice. We must bring into play the role of government departments to punish criminals in accordance with the law; firmly eliminate pornography, gambling and drug trafficking; and purify the social atmosphere. We must earnestly implement measures for improving public orders in urban areas through comprehensive measures, sternly crack down on all kinds of criminal offences and safeguard social stability. In building Spiritual Civilisation in urban areas, we must implement the principle of division of responsibility. In light of urban management requirement, we must launch activities to build civilised units and communities and promote education among citizens. We must establish new-type community, enterprise and campus culture and ensure that the tasks of developing the economy, carrying out the policy of reform and opening up, improving social ethics, remoulding social customs and habits, and improving people's standards are accomplished at the grass-roots level. We must formulate and perfect ethics covenants and code of conduct, select civilised

citizens and launch competition in becoming civilised towns and cities. We must work in all areas to build our urban areas into clean, civilised towns and cities characterised by a developed economy, social stability, healthy atmosphere, good public order. We must establish a civilised image for our towns and cities in the plateau.

While stepping up our efforts to improve social ethics in urban areas, we must promote the building of socialist Spiritual Civilisation in our rural and pastoral areas. More than 80 per cent of our region's population are in rural and pastoral areas. Successfully building Spiritual Civilisation in rural and pastoral areas has major significance to elevating the standards of our peasants and herders, promoting economic development, and building socialist new villages. In light of the major issues affecting our rural and pastoral areas and in accordance with the guidelines of the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee, waging a persistent struggle against separatism and improving the scientific and cultural standards of our peasants and herders are the emphasis of our drive to build Spiritual Civilisation in rural and pastoral areas. We must strengthen education in patriotism and cultivate awareness of the motherland among peasants, herders and grass-roots cadres. We must use lively facts to make peasants and herders aware of the warmth in the big family of the motherland and understand that only socialism can save and develop Tibet, so that they will firmly wage anti-splitist struggle to eliminate the Dalai splitist group's influence in the spiritual sphere, completely frustrate its "Tibetan independence" attempt and safeguard the motherland's unity. We must work hard to improve the scientific and cultural standards of peasants and herders, popularise scientific knowledge and remove religious fantasies and obsolete feudal superstitions, such as asking sorcerers and lamas to pray for rain and stop hails in agricultural and livestock production, asking monasteries to determine sowing and harvesting time, and being reluctant to slaughter and sell animals. We must implement the strategy of "rejuvenating Tibet through application of science and technology and promotion of education"; step up the spread of scientific knowledge, educate the masses to believe in, respect, rely and advocate

science; guide them in eradicating superstition and ignorance and relying on science to develop the economy, improve life and eliminate poverty. We must not allow the revival of feudal marriages in rural and pastoral areas. We must implement the marriage certification system, promote family planning, provide better prenatal and postnatal care, and carry out funeral reform. We must advocate scientific, healthy and civilised

lifestyle by remoulding customs and habits, formulating and implementing village covenants, and launching activities to build civilised families and villages.

The building of Spiritual Civilisation has entered the stage of comprehensive implementation in our region. We must unite and pool our efforts under the unified leadership of Party committees at various levels. In building Spiritual

Civilisation, we must lay stress on practical results, oppose formalism and implementation. We must take into consideration local reality and conduct creative work to resolve major issues in building socialist Spiritual Civilisation and elevate the building of socialist Spiritual Civilisation in our rural, pastoral and urban areas to a new level.

Document 7: Commentary published in the Tibet Daily, 13 December 1996

The following are extracts from the eighth Tibet Daily commentary on "Earnestly Studying and Implementing the Guidelines of the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee". The commentary states that some cadres have maintained that they cannot have specific targets and programs in constructing Spiritual Civilisation, but that those specific objectives and goals have now in fact been set out (referring to the Resolution and the Suggestion) and that cadres need to integrate Spiritual Civilisation and economic construction. The main focus of the article is religion and the existence of "obsolete ideological concepts, feudal superstition and obsolete customs and habits"; it says that "many cadres, as well as the masses, have been too deeply influenced and restricted by Tibetan Buddhism, old systems, old customs and old concepts." It also deals with filth, messiness and "civilised streets and units". The commentary states that the masses should be mobilised to accomplish the enormous project of building Spiritual Civilisation. (Published by the BBC Monitoring Service on 27 December 1996)

Strict implementation with an extremely responsible attitude towards the Party and the people

[...] Many cadres, especially some leading cadres, have consistently failed to balance the relations between the construction of material and Spiritual Civilisation. They maintain that, unlike the tasks of economic construction, they cannot have specific programmes, concrete targets, strict supervision and obvious accomplishments while facilitating the construction of Spiritual Civilisation. If they are still currently holding to this type of concept, then they have seriously neglected their duties, and are being extremely irresponsible towards the Party and people. This is because the Party Central Committee's "Resolution" [adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee] and the TAR Party Committee's "Suggestion" [on Implementing the Guidelines of the 6th Plenary Session of the 14th Party Central Committee] have been very specific regarding the guiding ideologies, objectives, short-term and long-term tasks, and work methods for facilitating the construction of Spiritual Civilisation. At present, we can say that the overall policies and the general and specific rules and regulations have been formulated. No Party members or Party cadres should any longer have any reason or lame excuses to hesitate or to refuse to act.

Our current urgent tasks are resolutely to pursue the guidelines of the above two plenary sessions [the 6th plenary session

of the 14th Party Central Committee and the 2nd plenary session of the 5th Party Central Committee], and to integrate closely the targets and missions of the construction of Spiritual Civilisation with the targets and missions of economic construction so that we will make joint arrangements, implement them together and examine them together. While facilitating the construction of Spiritual Civilisation, we should assiduously maintain an enthusiasm similar to that we have when we are carrying out the tasks of economic construction, shaking off poverty and attaining prosperity; earnestly formulate programmes; delegate missions; specify duties; and implement measures so as to attain victory in rectifying malpractices and eliminating fallacies in the spiritual sector.

[...] Before Tibet can become one of China's advanced regions and advanced nationalities, not only does it need to make a new leap in its construction of material civilisation, but it can absolutely not lag behind in its construction of Spiritual Civilisation. Just like the task of enhancing the construction of material civilisation, when facilitating the construction of Spiritual Civilisation, we should also seize opportunities, be determined after sizing up the situation, promote a spirit of self-reliance, work hard for Tibet's prosperity, steadily construct and implement one task after

another. In particular, we have to point out here: Because of its special natural and historical situation, the central authorities have been concerned for Tibet, and the whole country has been supporting it in facilitating economic construction, thereby reflecting the brotherly relations and deep feelings among brothers in the big family of the motherland. However, when facilitating the construction of Spiritual Civilisation, we cannot rely on outside help. We cannot imagine which advanced regions will support and help us in resolving acute problems in the spiritual sector; help us to screen and rectify religious idealism and the influence of obsolete ideological concepts, feudal superstition and obsolete customs and habits; help us to screen and rectify filth, messiness and inefficiency; or help us construct civilised streets and civilised units. When facilitating the construction of Spiritual Civilisation, except in respect of certain physical facilities, we can only rely on ourselves to enhance the ideological aspects. Every comrade must soberly understand the above requirement, discard any concepts of dependence, invigorate ourselves and boldly shoulder the historic, heavy responsibilities of facilitating Spiritual Civilisation construction.

[...] Acute problems that exist in Tibet's spiritual sector which adversely affect its stability and development, and the cadres

and masses have become very serious. The earnest resolution of these acute problems is an arduous and special task for Tibet in facilitating the construction of Spiritual Civilisation... For a long time, many cadres, as well as the masses, have been too deeply influenced and restricted by Tibetan Buddhism, old systems, old customs and old concepts. Their ideological understanding has not been clear. They have been afraid to clash with the party's policies on nationalities and religion and the habits and customs of the nationalities. Therefore, they have not dared to touch or discuss exposed problems. They have been afraid of this or that issue and just let these acute problems deteriorate. Eventually, these problems have become deep-seated and very hard to rectify.

[...] It is now time for us to rise up, righteously and forcefully stage struggles against reactionary and backward concepts and behaviour and eliminate their adverse effects. "It takes more than one cold day for the river to freeze three feet deep." Thoroughly resolving the acute problems in Tibet's spiritual sector

cannot be accomplished easily at one go. We need unusual courage and unwavering perseverance. This task will require every party member and cadre to be bold and to dare to lead, to stage struggles, to resolve problems, to create new habits for the new generation and to create a brand-new world.

Strict implementation of the guidelines of the above two plenary sessions requires that we strengthen leadership and mobilise the masses [...] The key to creating a new situation for the construction of socialist Spiritual Civilisation lies in the Party's effective leadership and in Party organisations at various levels playing their roles as powerful forces. To strengthen Party leadership, not only Party organisations at various levels and all Communist Party members should lead as exemplary models for others, and practice what they preach; but more importantly, we should properly mobilise the masses and the whole of society to participate together. Facilitating the construction of Spiritual Civilisation involves not only ideological tasks; it also involves unshakeable and

sacred duties for various trades and industries throughout society, and a common undertaking for people of various nationalities in Tibet.

To accomplish such an enormous social project, we cannot merely rely on our Party organisations and over 90,000 Party members in Tibet, and merely rely on comrades on the ideological work front. On the contrary, we should let the 2.3 million people of various nationalities fully play their roles as the main force, mobilise the enthusiasm of the entire people to participate in this great undertaking, gather the wisdom and experience accumulated in practice by the broad masses of people and tap the potential creativity of the masses. Furthermore, all trades and industries should jointly participate and manage together, make enormous and concerted efforts to facilitate the construction of Spiritual Civilisation. Only then can we overcome all the thousands of difficulties and enable modern socialist Spiritual Civilisation to take firm root, bloom and bear fruit on the Tibetan plateau. [...]

Document 8

The following is a translation of an article in the 23 December 1996 Chinese edition of the Tibet Daily. The article, written in question and answer format, says that Party cadres must set examples of ideology, morality and conduct during the building of Spiritual Civilisation and implement the "Resolution" and the "Suggestion". The article states that the most important task in building Spiritual Civilisation is to train people to possess the "Four Qualities", namely ideology, morality, science and culture. The special significance of Patriotic Education in the TAR is also discussed. [TIN Ref N96de23b]

Questions And Answers About Elementary Knowledge On Building Socialist Spiritual Civilisation

By the Lecturers' Group of the TAR Party Committee

Why is it necessary to strengthen leadership of the Party in building Spiritual Civilisation?

The Chinese Communist Party is the leadership core of the socialist cause, and the Party's leadership is the crux of serving the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics. The Resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee indicates: "In building socialism with Chinese characteristics and strengthening the establishment of material civilisation, the crux is the Party; in establishing socialist Spiritual Civilisation and in the drive to raise the ideological, moral and scientific level of the entire nation, the crux is also the Party."

[...] The fine traditions and work style which the Party has formed during a long period of revolution and construction are the embodiment of the fine quality of

members of the CCP and a valuable spiritual wealth; this is an example of the people's ideological and moral construction and of the admirable social practices under socialist conditions. Whether or not Party committees at each level see building socialist Spiritual Civilisation as important or not has a direct relation to their level of building socialist Spiritual Civilisation. Because of this, in order to carry out well the building of socialist Spiritual Civilisation in the new situation, we must first greatly strengthen and improve the Party's leadership of Spiritual Civilisation construction.

First of all, it is necessary for Party committees at all levels to be engaged in strengthening and improving the Party's leadership of the construction of Spiritual Civilisation. It is necessary to rectify Party conduct and encourage the honest perfor-

mance of official duties. The Party cadres must, in the light of the requirement to be advanced, conscientiously set an example in ideology, morality and conduct, and play the role of being a good example in the whole process of building Spiritual Civilisation. Party leaders at all levels must dare to act on the words [*dang zi gan tou*], dare to carry out beneficial work in order to implement the Resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee and the Suggestion on its Implementation of the TAR Party Committee, dare to struggle against the Dalai clique and religious idealism and dare to carry out mass work. Only if one dares to lead, can he lead well.

Second, it is necessary to emphasise implementation. In the Resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Party Central Committee and the Suggestion on its Implementation of the TAR Party

Committee, there are explanations of theory and there are also the practical measures. To strengthen the Party leadership of the establishment of Spiritual Civilisation, the crux is in the implementation. It is necessary to check up and supervise work at every level. Every front line and all prefectures (municipalities) and counties must combine [theory] with reality, grasp the principal contradictions, make clear their tasks and aims and put forward their requirements and measures.

Third, it is necessary to strengthen the construction of the organisations and ranks. The establishment of Spiritual Civilisation does not happen by itself; it requires a number of advanced elements to carry out propaganda and education work and use their advanced experience and models in order to lead. Professional personnel engaged in the establishment of Spiritual Civilisation, the propaganda, ideological, news, cultural, educational, scientific and technological contingents, ought to shoulder the historic mission of acting as the backbone in building Spiritual Civilisation and be an example to the masses.

Fourth, it is necessary to strengthen the construction of the legal system. According to the exposition of Comrade Deng Xiaoping, the establishment of socialist Spiritual Civilisation relies on both the education and the law. Speaking of the majority of the people, good results can be obtained through education. However, education is not all powerful, and the establishment of Spiritual Civilisation must also have a legal system to guarantee it. On the basis of and within the restrictions of the legal system, socialist Spiritual Civilisation can avoid disturbances and can be carried out in a smooth and orderly way only if the broad masses of the people, monks and nuns in the monasteries and all businesses and industries all conduct their affairs in accordance with the law and with the models.

Why is it said that training "new men of four qualities" ["sī yǒu" xīn rén] is the basic task of the establishment of

socialist Spiritual Civilisation?

The "Resolution" of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Central Committee and the spirit of the meeting of the 2nd plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee take training "new men of four qualities" as a basic task of the building of Spiritual Civilisation. This is because the building of Spiritual Civilisation, including building of ideology and morality and building of science and culture, basically speaking, are all in order to raise peoples' quality. [...] the basic task of building Spiritual Civilisation is to train socialist citizens to have ideals, morality, culture and discipline, to improve the ideological, moral, scientific and cultural qualities of the whole nation [...] Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We have consistently advocated having ideals, morality, culture and discipline, and among these the most important are ideals and discipline." [...] If one retains a correct world outlook, outlook on life, values, lofty ideals, steadfast faith and noble morals and sentiments, then he will demonstrate deep love for the socialist cause and his own job, an unflinching will and a high sense of duty [...] If one not only has good ideological and moral qualities but also sound scientific and cultural qualities and vigorous health, then he can perform meritorious deeds, produce achievements and make contributions to the cause of socialist modernisation. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen ideological and moral construction and science and cultural construction and to improve significantly the quality of the whole nation, to train "new men of four qualities".

Why is there greater significance in enforcing Patriotic Education in the TAR?

Patriotic Education is a practical educational activity which has training people to correctly have a patriotic outlook, to have deep feelings for the great motherland, to firmly believe in patriotism and to carry out noble patriotic activities as its goal. Our region is in a special environment. To counter the splittist activities of the Dalai clique and

the "westernisation" and "break-up" schemes of the international hostile forces against our country, it is imperative and important to develop and enhance Patriotic Education to the masses, especially the youngsters. It is necessary to enforce the education of Chinese modern and contemporary history and Tibetan modern history and to carry out the comparisons between the new and old societies in order to make patriotic ideology take root in the minds of all the cadres and the masses. At the same time, using the great achievements and grand goals of Tibet's socialist construction, to inspire people, to strengthen faith in taking the socialist road, to arouse enthusiasm for building socialism, is an important manifestation of patriotism. Profoundly revealing the crimes of the Dalai splittist clique, clarifying their reactionary influence in the spiritual realm, and carrying out the important duties of reform, opening up, stabilisation [wending] and our region's "one centre, two great tasks, three guarantees", constructing the ideological great wall of patriotism, these are also important components of patriotism. In the practice of building Spiritual Civilisation, having ardent love for the socialist motherland is the principal political stand that every citizen must possess. It is necessary to understand to the fullest extent that Tibet only has bright prospects and a beautiful future if she is in the family of the unified motherland, with the powerful help and support of fraternal nationalities and resolutely taking the socialist road. We must firmly adopt the viewpoint that Tibet is an inseparable part of the motherland, and ceaselessly raise the consciousness of defending the unity of the country and opposing splittism. It can be seen that that the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee has made holding high the banner of patriotism, clearing up the influence of Dalai in the spiritual sphere and thoroughly defeating the schemes of "Tibet Independence" of the Dalai clique into one of the main tasks of building Spiritual Civilisation of our region, with very great significance.

Document 9: Article from the Tibet Daily, 7 January 1997

The focus of this article is an attack on Tibetan Buddhism; it argues that the idealism of religion must be removed by educating people in the materialist world outlook of Marxism. It urges a change in old ways of thinking and the implementation of the "Resolution" of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Central Committee. Education in patriotism is discussed as a means to dispel the influence of the Dalai Lama in spiritual affairs, and emphasis is placed on the need to adapt religion to socialism. The article argues that the implementation of such changes is

an urgent task in the drive to develop Spiritual Civilisation. [TIN Ref N97ja27b]

Several changes to building Spiritual Civilisation in our Region

In Tibet, the task of building socialist Spiritual Civilisation is unusually arduous. From a religious ideological point of view, this author believes, implementing the following five changes is a pressing task.

1 The masses' world outlook must change from religious idealism to scientific materialism

Religion is systematic idealism, it has a complete system of theoretical viewpoints, so its deceptiveness [qipianxing] is very great. Tibetan Buddhism has idealist views such as submitting to the will of heaven and asking for blessing and protection by Buddha for happiness on earth, which seriously restricts the human brain, and obstructs the development of production and improvements in the living conditions of the masses in our region. In the more than ten years of reform and opening up, the obstructions caused to production and social development by the passive side of Tibetan Buddhism are manifest and easy to see.

From a Marxist viewpoint, the world is composed of material, and that material is in constant motion. This motion is governed by laws [guilü], and thus it can be known [renshi]. The laws therefore do not depend on an immortal emperor, but on people themselves. At the time comrade Mao Zedong stimulated the masses to make revolution, attack local tyrants and divide up the land, peasants were then educated to recognise that the root cause of poverty was class exploitation and was not predestined by fate. If we want to abolish exploitation and oppression, we cannot rely on the protection of the Buddha, we must take up arms and fight against class enemies. As to Buddha, Mao Zedong said the Buddha was set up by the peasants and must be overthrown by the peasants. Facts prove that emancipated peasants gradually stop believing in the Buddha.

Today's Tibetan people live in the big family of socialism. They threw off exploitation and oppression long ago, they are developing production and improving their living conditions, and have also had the loving care and selfless assistance of the Party Central Committee, the State Council and the people of all nationalities in China, and so the changes made in the more than 30 years since democratic reform surpass the changes which took

place in old Tibet during several thousand years. Nowadays the start and finishing point of all our work is causing Tibetan people to become rich as quickly as possible, to carry out development, and to live and work in peace. So we must use a materialist world viewpoint justly and forcefully to educate the vast numbers of cadres and masses and remove the influence of the idealist world viewpoint.

2 The Ideology of unchanging customs must be transformed into an Ideology of rapid change

Change is the motive power that propels the historical advance of mankind. As for problems concerning treatment of nationalities and religion in our region, in the past people dared not bring up the question of "change". Not until comrade Chen Kuiyuan issued his statement in Lhasa at the meeting concerning construction of Spiritual Civilisation, which drew strong reactions, did more people dare to speak outright about their views on change. It must be said that there was an abnormal fear of change in the past.

In worldly matters, change is absolute, permanence is relative. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "The world is changing, and our ideology and behaviour must also change accordingly [sui zhi er bian]." Since matters change, then "change should not be rejected. If change is rejected then no progress can be made. This is a question of methods of thinking [sixiang fangfa]." Looking back at the practice of reform and opening up, it is precisely because our Party has adapted to a changing world, "taking class struggle as the framework [gang]" has changed to taking economic construction as the core, being rigidly closed has changed to reform and opening up. The word "change" suits the reality in our country, conforms with the tide of history, and has enabled earth-shaking changes to take place in China during the short period of something over ten years. Now, the whole country is powerfully aiding Tibet in aspects including manpower, finance and material goods, and the TAR Party Committee, based on the spirit of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Central Committee, closely united with the reality in Tibet, is pushing forwards the building of Spiritual Civilisation in all aspects in our region; this is a good period of great and rapid change in Tibet. We must definitely

change old ways of thinking, and conscientiously implement the resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Central Committee and the spirit of the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee, grasp this opportunity, exploit the situation, and raise construction of the two civilisations to a new level.

3 Nationalities education must change from one-sidedly emphasising some special nationality characteristics to establishing a Marxist viewpoint on nationalities and strengthening patriotism

Recognising the unique nature of nationalities work in Tibet is a prerequisite for doing well all types of work. The Tibetan nationality has a long history, going back to ancient times, with a magnificent culture. But because of the feudal slavery system in the old society in which government and religion were united, and due to the influence of religion, in Tibet, nationality problems and religious problems are often linked. If we want to carry out nationalities work well, then we must carry out religious work well. Tibetan Buddhist traditions have been distorted beyond recognition by the Dalai, Buddhist precepts and doctrines have been distorted, monastic rules and regulations have been trampled underfoot, which causes the broad masses of cadres and people great difficulties in concentrating their energy to develop production strength. In particular, the interfering and destructive activities of the Dalai clique have made protecting the unity of the motherland and a stable situation the overriding tasks. The destructive nature [pohuaxing] of religion causes difficulties obtaining new accomplishments in nationalities work. The Resolution of the 2nd (enlarged) session of the 5th TAR Party Committee emphasised that it is necessary at the same time as striving to overcome narrow nationalism and to establish a Marxist view of nationalities, to raise the banner of patriotism, to wipe out the influence of the Dalai in the spiritual sphere, and to defeat thoroughly the Dalai clique's "Tibetan independence" scheme. This is of the greatest importance in our present aims [zhe youzhe jiqiang de xianshi zhenduxing].

Patriotism has historically been an important component [zhongyao neirong] of building Spiritual Civilisation. Our

motherland is a united country with many nationalities, and for several thousands of years no nationality has submitted to invaders, they have had the glorious traditions of protecting the dignity of the nationalities and national sovereignty, they had a boundless hatred for invaders and enemy forces, and incomparable loathing for traitors seeking glory and splittists, the scum of the nation, and they had boundless respect for noble-minded patriots; this has already become the character of our nationalities. Today's Chinese [*Zhongguo ren*] have a proper sense of pride about themselves, and this is basically because the motherland is growing richer and stronger day by day. From one aspect, this tells us that only if Tibet is within the embrace of the Chinese nationalities, staunchly walking along the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, will it have a bright future.

The Party Central Committee has pointed out that Tibet's security has a bearing on national security while stability in Tibet has a bearing on national stability. As cadres and masses of Tibet, we can exert all our strength for the security and stability of the motherland, this is the greatest pride and glory, and to oppose this is the greatest neglect of duty. So, we must earnestly carry out Patriotic Education, and securely establish throughout society the thinking that Tibet is an inalienable part of the motherland, letting zeal and [a sense of] responsibility for loving the motherland and safeguarding the unity of the motherland become powerful spiritual driving forces which push forwards reform, opening up and modernisation.

4 Religious belief must, for its protection [*xiang ji bao hu*], change in the area of adapting itself more to socialist society

In the past, we have one-sidedly emphasised the policy of freedom of religious belief, and one-sidedly emphasised the nationality, mass, long-term, international and complicated nature of religion; the deceptiveness, backwardness, and benighted nature of religion have rarely been mentioned. The

Dalai splittist clique, out of their aim of splitting the motherland, are also stirring up religious fanaticism. This has led to the number of monasteries outnumbering the total number of primary and middle schools in the region's townships [*xiang*] and counties [*xian*], while the number of monks and nuns is greater than the total of cadres and middle school pupils beneath county level. Such phenomena, when compared with the speeding up of development of the economy in the interior of China, are really depressing.

The Party and government have stipulated the policy on freedom of religious belief because: religion has gradually taken shape during a long period of historical development, and can only gradually die away during a long period of historical development. This [policy] is in order to unite wide-ranging strength, to form a vast and mighty army of construction; it is certainly not to encourage and develop religion. Consequently, a strongly guided religion can be adapted to suit socialist society. This is of essential significance, in any period of time [*renhe shihou dou shi ti zhong ying you zhi yi*]. Citizens of socialist China, no matter what religious faith, must all consciously accept the restraints and the remouldings of the socialist system and of socialist Spiritual Civilisation. Party members and cadres, when disseminating the Party's religious policy to the masses, must place most emphasis on the adaptation [*xiang shiying*] of religion to socialist society, otherwise the direction of our propaganda is wrong.

5 Habits and customs must change to modern culture

Each nationality has its own habits and customs, and these habits and customs must of necessity progress according to the times. If entrenched habits and customs do not change over a long period, they are bound to become outmoded. For example, several years ago, in Wenzhou, Zhejiang, many people spent many tens of thousands of yuan [*ji wan shi ji wan yuan*] building [*xu*; also: repairing] ancestral graves. In the end, this developed to

graves being built for living people over 30 years of age, and the green mountain had become a "white mountain". Since 1996, the masses there have voluntarily flattened the graves and promoted cremation: this is progress in funeral and interment customs. Habits and customs in other areas are undergoing constant change, as demanded by the times.

In Tibet, there some old habits and customs which really must change. For example, in wine drinking, three mouthfuls [*kou*] to a cup has become three mouthfuls to a bowl. In places with developed economic cultures, people drink wine to be happy, but in Tibet, people drink to be sad. Here is another example: where public toilets in towns in the interior of are unhygienic, foreign guests are unwilling to invest in factories there; faeces and urine can be seen all over Tibetan cities and towns, how can this attract foreign investment to accelerate economic development? Modern civilisation is a dynamic concept. Society has progressed, passing by many objectionable habits and customs. The level of civilisation has been raised. For instance, prohibition of smoking in public places is a typical example. In some developed countries, this is now a legal issue. If we were to leave smoking habits to individuals, this would be contrary to modern civilisation. Therefore, regardless of which nationality's habits and customs are looked at, they will all gradually be looked at with reference to modern civilisation. Those that conform will be upheld, those which run counter to it will be improved. Only in this way can life styles make progress in accordance with the times.

Today, all parts of the nation are strengthening the building of Spiritual Civilisation, and new things spring up all the time, cadres in Tibet come from all over China, and every day they bring lots of new information. We only need to really liberate our thinking, seek truth from facts, boldly join new organisations and embrace cultural success from all mankind, and we will certainly be able to build a new Spiritual Civilisation in our region.

Document 10: Government Work Report

The following are extracts from the 1997 TAR Government Work Report, which was delivered by Gyaltsen Norbu, chairman of the TAR People's Government, at the 5th session of the 6th TAR People's Congress on 15 May 1997. The report was published in the 29 May 1997 edition of Tibet Daily (posted by BBC Monitoring on 28 June 1997). Part I of the Work Report reviews work carried out during 1996, including a section on the building of Spiritual Civilisation. The emphasis is, *inter alia*, on separatism and the "Dalai clique", and also on culture. Part II concentrates on accelerating development in the region, with the focus on improving culture and education, science and

technology. There is a particular focus on cultural work (see appendix 1 for an extract from a speech by Chen Kuiyuan in July 1997, which deals with this subject in greater detail). Part III deals with further progress: nationality and religious work are discussed. This extract also sets out the then current tasks in building Spiritual Civilisation.

Part I: A review of our work in 1996

[...] 5. The building of socialist Spiritual Civilisation increasingly stepped up

Acting in the spirit of the 6th plenary session of the Party's 14th Central Committee and the spirit of the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee, governments at various levels adhered to the principle of "grasping two links at the same time and attaching equal importance to both of them" and the guiding principles for the building of the socialist spiritual civilisation; keeping Tibet's realities in mind and proceeding from the elimination of disorderliness and ignorance, they strengthened the education of the people in the struggle against separatism, and made efforts to eliminate the influence of the Dalai clique's reactionary thinking in splitting the motherland and to resist the Western hostile forces' attempt to

"Westernize" or "divide" our country; they stepped up education in science and culture and guide the masses in acquiring a Marxist world outlook and a Marxist outlook on religion and made efforts to eliminate the influence of feudal superstitions on people and to free the people from their fettering. They called on all people to learn from Kong Fansen and other model and advanced persons and to foster wholesome moral practices. Efforts were made to enable large numbers of cadres to understand themselves as public servants who should serve the people wholeheartedly. Governments at various levels vigorously carried out "double-support" activities and made efforts to strengthen army- government and army-people unity and to enhance the people's

awareness of the importance of national defence. They also made efforts to foster a new style of modern civilisation in which attention was paid to public and professional ethics and family virtues. The system of undertaking to provide service was implemented in power supply, postal and telecommunications services, banks, and petroleum and other industries. The cultural market was consolidated, and remarkable achievements were made in cracking down on pornography and illegal publications. Some illegal publications were seized, and a number of illegally run places of entertainment were closed down. The cultural market developed in a healthy and orderly way. [...]

Part II: Seizing the opportunity to accelerate development and striving to promote the two fundamental shifts

[...] Vigorously developing education, science and technology, and various social undertakings

We should continue to carry out the strategy of revitalising Tibet through science and education and strive to improve the scientific and cultural qualities of people of various nationalities. In education, we should continuously deepen the reform of higher education and secondary school education, readjust specialties, optimise the educational structure, and improve the quality of instruction according to the requirements for establishing the socialist market economic structure. We should continue to put stress on elementary education, give priority to teacher education, vigorously develop vocational and technical education, and do a good job in adult education and in the elimination of illiteracy among the young and middle-aged people. Various types of schools at various levels should all step up the building of Spiritual Civilisation, pay close attention to strengthening moral education, and earnestly organise the carrying out of "the project for moral construction among teachers," "the project for moral education," and "the civilized campus project." We should vigorously carry out education in patriotism and strive to train socialist builders and successors to the cause of socialism

who develop morally, intellectually, and physically. We should effectively strengthen the building of the teachers' ranks, vigorously promote the spirit of respecting one's work, raise the quality of teachers in an all-round way, and continuously improve the working, learning, and living conditions for teachers. We should increase our investment in education, actively mobilise social forces to set up schools, and improve the conditions for running schools. In science and technology, it is necessary thoroughly to implement a decision of the autonomous region on stepping up scientific and technological work, to deepen the science and technology management system, to be geared to the needs of major economic fields, and to concentrate funds and the personnel of scientific research on solving key technological problems in economic construction. Efforts should be made to accelerate the turning of scientific and technological achievements into a productive force. In putting stress on stepping up scientific research in agriculture and animal husbandry, we should organise scientists and technicians to take part in comprehensive agricultural development, in aiding the poor through science and technology, and in the

technical transformation of enterprises. We should rely on scientific and technological progress to strengthen enterprises' ability to invent new technologies and to raise labour productivity in an all-round way. In our work in culture, art, the press, publishing, radio, film, television, and social sciences, we should act in the spirit of the 6th plenary session of the Party's 14th Central Committee and the spirit of the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee and firmly keep to the correct orientation of public opinion; we should foster a correct concept of literary and artistic creation, go into the thick of life, produce more fine works, and present the people with the best nourishment for the mind in order to provide an effective ideological and public-opinion guarantee for accelerating development and maintaining stability. We should further strengthen the construction of cultural facilities and effectively carry out the building of a cultural corridor along the 10,000-li-long border; we should give wide publicity to the splendid cultures and arts of minority nationalities and strengthen the protection of cultural relics and heritage of minority nationalities. We should do managerial work while promoting the thriving of

literature and art; we should actively cultivate and improve the cultural market, unremittently crack down on pornography and illegal publications, ban copyright piracy, improve the management system, and promote a healthy development of the cultural market. The stress of health care should be put on the rural areas. It is necessary to adhere to the principle of putting prevention first, to do the work in the prevention and treatment of endemic and infectious diseases effectively, and to step up the research and development of Tibetan medicine; efforts should be made gradually to improve the medical and health care services system in the countryside and actively to explore various ways in which to provide co-operative medical care in the rural areas. It is essential to strengthen the building of the ranks of medical personnel and the

management of the pharmaceutical market and to foster healthy medical ethics and practices so as to ensure the health of the people. In family planning, we should continue to implement the principle of focusing on publicity and service, put the stress of family planning and of prenatal and postnatal care on the rural areas, provide more and better services, and combine the work of family planning with the efforts of peasants and herders to make economic development, to shake off poverty, and to get better-off, with maternity and child care, and with the building of civilised families. In sports, we should earnestly implement the "All-People Fitness Programme" and vigorously carry out mass-sports activities to improve the health of the people. We should step up the building of a contingent of outstanding athletes and continuously raise their levels in competi-

itive sports. We should protect the ecological environment and ensure sustainable economic development. It is necessary to conduct inspections of the sources of pollution in major cities and towns, to tackle problems of environmental sanitation in a comprehensive way, to institute a responsibility system in this regard, and to cultivate a new social practice of protecting the environment and keeping it clean. We should make planning for building shelter-forests for major cities and towns, do a good job in voluntary tree planting, and strictly protect natural vegetation and wildlife. We should step up our work in water and soil conservation and prevent soil erosion. At no time must we seek temporary economic development at the expense of resources. We must leave a beautiful environment to posterity.

Part III: Seeking further progress on the basis of stability and ensuring the fulfilment of the targets for economic and social development

[...] Effectively performing our nationality and religious work in the new period

Nationality work should be persistently done around the central task of economic construction, with a view to consolidating and strengthening the relationship of equality, unity, and mutual aid among various nationalities. We should conscientiously implement the "Law on Regional National Autonomy" and gradually establish a co-ordinated system of laws and regulations and mechanisms for supervision according to our region's political, economic, and cultural characteristics. We should step up our work in nationality townships and guarantee the right of various minorities nationalities to fully administer the internal affairs of their nationalities and to take part in the administration of state affairs. Continuous attention should be paid to the study and use of the spoken and written Tibetan language, and all relevant measures should be carried out to the letter. Comprehensive and accurate implementation of the party's religious policy is an important task in socialist modernisation and the building of the Spiritual Civilisation in our region at present. We should strengthen the management of religious affairs according to the law, protect the legitimate rights and interests of the religious masses and those without religious belief, protect proper religious activities, and actively guide religion in adapting itself to socialist society. Religion must guard the sanctity of the law, defend the interests of the people,

uphold the unity of various nationalities, and safeguard the unity of the motherland. We should continue to implement a decision made by the regional Party committee and the regional people's government on conducting Patriotic Education and establishing normal order in temples and lamaseries throughout the region; we should fully understand the importance of this work, conscientiously sum up experiences in conducting experiments in this regard, and consolidate and develop the achievements we have already made; in strict accordance with the requirements set by the central and regional authorities, we should conduct Patriotic Education and establish normal order in the region's temples and lamaseries by stages and in groups and in a down-to-earth manner. We should further strengthen the Patriotic Education of monks and nuns so that they will love the country, cherish their religion, observe the law and discipline, resolutely safeguard the unity of the motherland, and combat separatism. We should further improve the measures for the management of temples and lamaseries; we should improve the management system, strengthen the management of temples and lamaseries according to the law, and make sure that the power for the management of temples and lamaseries is in the hands of monks and nuns who truly love the country and cherish their religion; we should firmly

stop the practices of wantonly building temples and lamaseries and indiscriminately taking in people as Buddhist monks or nuns; and we should thoroughly destroy the Dalai clique's foundation for carrying out splitlist activities in Tibet in order to achieve long-term peace and stability for the region.

[...] Stepping up the building of socialist Spiritual Civilisation

The 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee made all-round arrangements for acting in the spirit of the 6th plenary session of the Party's 14th Central Committee. We must conscientiously carry out such arrangements. The present main tasks in building Spiritual Civilisation in the region are as follows:

1. We should carry out ideological construction with the conduct of education in patriotism and socialism as its central task. We should safeguard the unity and fundamental interests of the motherland and expose and frustrate the conspiratorial activities of the splitlists and the Western hostile forces to "Westernize" or "divide" our country; and we should confidently publicise the truth that only socialism can save and develop Tibet. We should educate the cadres, masses, and young people to ardently love the country and socialism.
2. With serving the people as the core and in line with the principles of collectivism,

we should put stress on the improvement of the party's work style, the building of a clean and honest government, and the establishment of professional ethics; we should foster new, healthy, and progressive social practices of fraternal love, mutual aid, hard work, frugality, and civility.

3. We should change prevailing habits and customs and eliminate the influence of feudal superstitions and various outmoded regulations and irrational practices on the

production and lives of the masses.

4. We should conduct education in the Marxist concept of nationalities among the cadres in order to enable them to acquire the concept that "the people of Han nationality cannot do without those of minority nationalities, neither can the latter do without the former," and to conscientiously resist the influence of parochial nationalism. Governments at various levels should strengthen and improve their leadership over the building

of Spiritual Civilisation, increase their investment in this regard, and ensure the carrying out of all tasks in the building of a Spiritual Civilisation. The 70th anniversary of the founding of the army will fall on this year. All localities should do their "double-support" work in a down-to-earth way, strengthen army-government and army-people unity, and push the building of a Spiritual Civilisation through the joint efforts of servicemen and people into a new stage.

2. Building Spiritual Civilisation: News Reports

Document 11: Article from Tibet Daily, 23 August 1996

Shortly after the 23 July 1996 speech of Chen Kuliuan (Document 2) when it became clear that the building of Spiritual Civilisation was going to be high on the list of priorities in Tibet policy making the official paper of the region, Tibet Daily, began to feature articles about the lack of Spiritual Civilisation in the region at the time. The following is a translation (from Chinese) of a letter to the editor of the Tibet Daily about unhealthy shop signs in Lhasa. [TIN Ref N96au23a]

Unhealthy shop signs in Lhasa should be cleaned up

Comrade Editor:

On a recent stroll through the streets of Lhasa, this writer discovered that the shop-signs of several stores, restaurants and karaoke dance halls showed extremely poor taste. Their display is strongly coloured by feudal superstitions, low and vulgar, of mean style, with some even making indiscriminate use of foreign names. For example 'Rich and Powerful', 'Imperial King', 'Little Sister Awaits You', 'Keep You Here At Night', 'Cute Babes', 'Forget Me Not', and so on. There are some that quite simply take New York and London and 'move them in' to Lhasa.

The signboards and shop-signs of a city

reflect that city's degree of civilisation and level of culture. If dance halls, shops and restaurants have appropriate signs they will naturally attract customers. To blindly seek economic benefit and ignore social benefit, letting some feudal and superstitious, low and nasty signboards act as one's shop front, can only put people off and make us a laughing stock. This writer once heard a comrade on the street say: "Shop-signs nowadays dazzle your eyes, there's some you look at and still can't work out what on earth goes on inside."

Now cities including Beijing, Changsha, and Qingdao amongst others have brought the cleaning up of unhealthy

shop-signs into the orbit of the legal system. Lhasa is a Mecca for tourists that draws in a broad range of Chinese and foreign visitors with its unique geographical environment and local customs and conditions; these signboards and shop-signs are also without doubt a window onto Lhasa. Therefore, I call upon the departments concerned to follow strictly the requirements of the Trademark Law and Advertising Law, expose publicly, promptly clean up and outlaw, unhealthy shop-signs, to purify Lhasa's bad cultural appearance.

Document 12: Article from Tibet Daily, 24 December 1996

This was a front page article, translated here from Chinese. The article gives an assessment by Chen Hanchang, Head of the Propaganda Department of the TAR Party Committee, on the implementation of the Spiritual Civilisation drive in Lhasa (the "focal point" of strengthening Spiritual Civilisation in the TAR) through mass mobilisation, and states his commitment to further realising the objectives of the campaign [TIN Ref N96de24a]

Rapid actions A conscientious attitude Measures bring benefits

Lhasa's Construction of Spiritual Civilisation Creates a Positive Situation

* Four streets including Beijing East Road, Yutuo Road are named as "Exemplary Street of Spiritual Civilisation Construction"

- * 40 Spiritual Civilisation supervisors take up posts supervising, strengthening administration and consolidating the dynamics of law enforcement
- * Learning to sing the "Civilisation Pledge for City Residents" becomes common practice and the "Pledge" becomes the standard for people's activities
- * The masses enthusiastically take part in setting up "civilised families", "civilised streets" and "civilised city residents"

Chen Hanchang says that the construction of Spiritual Civilisation of Lhasa is in order [*dao wei*], the work is in order and the actions are solid, and that it is worth the whole Autonomous Region learning from and extending it

Lhasa Party Committee and government, according to the guiding spirit of the TAR Party Committee's "Take Lhasa as the focal point, carry out well the building of Spiritual Civilisation in the cities", to increase the dynamics of spiritual civilisation construction, have put into practice organisation, leadership and structure, and have basically formed a positive situation which the whole Party sees as important and in which the whole of the masses are participating. Yesterday, Chen Hanchang, member of the Standing Committee of the TAR Party Committee and Head of the Propaganda Department of the TAR Party Committee, while leading the TAR Spiritual Civilisation Construction Supervision and Research Work Group in carrying out examination and guidance work in Lhasa, made an evaluation: Lhasa's spiritual civilisation construction activities have been swift, its attitude has been conscientious, its measures have been beneficial, it has made a very good start, and is setting a good example to the whole region.

Lhasa is the capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region, and its performance in constructing Spiritual Civilisation has a direct effect on the construction of Spiritual Civilisation throughout the Autonomous Region. In relation to this, Lhasa Party Committee and government have always maintained a clear understanding, used an advanced consciousness and work style, and has treated the construction of Spiritual Civilisation as the most important of all among many types of work. Particularly after the 6th plenary session of the 14th Central Committee and the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee, Lhasa seized the opportunity and adopted many types of flexible means including independent study, holding fora, tests and training meetings [in order] to appeal to and organise the people of the whole city to study earnestly, and to make the spirit of the two sessions basically known to every household and enter deeply into people's hearts. This has caused the cadres and masses to make progress in unifying their understanding and has clarified the aims of

building Spiritual Civilisation. On this basis, Lhasa City has drawn up and brought out [*chutai*] a series of practical measures, and concentrated their efforts on paying special attention to implementation. The main Lhasa Municipal leaders took command in person, went out to battle in person and gave instructions in person, established the Lhasa Municipal Committee for Construction of Spiritual Civilisation of Lhasa and also set up the Lhasa Municipal Office of Spiritual Civilisation. The eight counties and districts under Lhasa and all the units directly under the city likewise set up committees or leadership groups for Spiritual Civilisation construction, worked out plans for and views on the enforcement of Spiritual Civilisation construction corresponding to their respective circumstances. What they have done is valued by the leadership and strengthens organisation. In view of the actual circumstances of the city proper and the agricultural and pastoral areas, Lhasa started with controlling filthiness, disorder and low standards [*cha*] in the city, encouraging people to study the "Civilisation Pledge for Residents of the City" and eliminating the influence of Dalai in the spiritual realm. The city has taken charge of model cases and used the experience of selected units to promote work in the entire area in order to solve the problems about which the masses are most concerned. In order to control filthiness, disorder and low standards in the city, Lhasa selected Beijing East Road, Beijing Middle Road, Yu Tuo Road and Kang Ang Road, named them as exemplary streets of Spiritual Civilisation and recruited forty people to supervise Spiritual Civilisation in the streets so as to tighten up administration and strengthen the law enforcement dynamics. With these efforts the study of the "Civilisation Pledge for Residents of the City" was carried out in the whole city and the Pledge was composed as a song and widely sung by the public in the city. Among the whole body of people of the city, an "establish civilisation" action of studying and singing the "Pledge" has been set in motion, enabling them to have help in their study

and a standard for their actions, a support for advancing civilised behaviour. Within the city limits, various mass activities establishing "civilised homes", "civilised streets", "civilised city residents" are being carried out, in order to fully mobilise the masses, to arouse the whole of society to participate together in the ranks of those building Spiritual Civilisation.

With regard to the building of Spiritual Civilisation in Lhasa, Chen Hanchang pointed out that in Spiritual Civilisation construction in Lhasa, its actions in implementation have had beneficial results, the ideology and work are in order, the activities are solid, and worthy of study and extension across the whole region. He said: Lhasa holds a strategic position in the construction of Spiritual Civilisation in the whole region, so it must take the leading role and set an example, and it must make ten to one hundred times more effort than other areas. He hoped that Lhasa would advance in its consciousness of being the capital, advance in its understanding of the importance, arduousness, complicated and long term nature of building Spiritual Civilisation in Lhasa, and further strengthen the dynamics of building Spiritual Civilisation. At the same time, he also hoped that units directly under Central [government] or regional control would strengthen their consciousness of Spiritual Civilisation in managing their own areas of responsibility, and actively involve themselves in building Spiritual Civilisation in Lhasa. Chen Hanchang also exchanged views with leaders of Lhasa about specific questions including plans to change the "one-street" image of the city, setting up a "civilisation district" and establishing more neighbourhood committees.

Lobsang Dondrup [Luosang Dunzhu], vice chairman of the TAR and secretary of Lhasa Party Committee, and Zhu Chunsheng, deputy secretary of Lhasa Party Committee, attended the discussion. Chen Jiguang, head of the propaganda department of Lhasa Party Committee, then reported on implementing the spirit of the "two sessions" in Lhasa.

Document 13: Article from Tibet Daily, 31 December 1996

The following article describes the early implementation of the Spiritual Civilisation drive in Tengchen county, Chamdo prefecture. According to the article, people in the county have subscribed to a number of magazines and newspapers, regarded by the authorities as a means to promote and build Spiritual Civilisation. [TIN Ref N96de31b]

Revolve around economics to control propaganda, control propaganda well to promote development [welrao Jingji zhua xuanchuan, zhua hao xuanchuan cu fazhan]

Dingqing [Tengchen] county's ideological propagation work is vivid and dramatic

Dingqing county has always treated "revolve around economics to control propaganda, control propaganda well to promote development" as an important component in the work of publicising ideology and culture and in the construction of Spiritual Civilisation throughout the county; they have grasped it tightly and well. In practical work, they have integrated this with conditions in the county, drawn up targets, developed the work with initiative and in a creative way, bringing about participation by the whole county, managing things together [qi zhua gong guan] and bringing about by pooling efforts a work structure for "great propaganda" [xingcheng heli de da xuanchuan gongzuo gefu], and has created a new situation in the work of publicising ideology and in building Spiritual Civilisation.

Last year Dingqing county firmly

grasped the study of theory and formulated a study system. They adjusted and enriched small study groups in the county centre [xian zhongxin xuexi xiaozu] and established, supervised, urged and inspected the study of theory in 13 Party branches. They united the principal spirit of the Party in every period with the actual situation of the county and carried out conscientious theoretical study. Particularly after the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee, the emphasis of study was on implementing the spirit of the "two sessions". They established the Dingqing County Spiritual Civilisation Construction Committee, researched and drew up the overall plan for construction of spiritual civilisation in Dingqing county, and strengthened propaganda work in agricultural and pastoral areas. They have established two new township

level cultural centres and established two propaganda workers for the township Party committees. They have made full use of broadcasting and television to carry out publicity, using direct, vivid and deeply moving programs to educate and lead people. Particularly after the opening of the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee, they specially produced a 12 hour long television program called "Special Programme on conscientiously implementing the spirit of the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee", so that the cadres and masses would without delay know about the new things and the new situation.

This year, towns [zhen] and townships [xiang] subscribed to a total of 204 publications of which 196 are in the Tibetan language. The whole county subscribed to 238 publications.

Documents 14a and 14b: Announcement of competition; article submittee

In the Tibet Daily on 14 January 1997, a competition was announced to encourage mass participation in the Spiritual Civilisation campaign. The competition was jointly organised by the TAR Office for Spiritual Civilisation Construction and the Tibet Daily; entrants were required to write an article on one of three themes. A translation of the competition announcement is reproduced below as document 14a [TIN Ref N97ja14b]. The 19 January edition of the Tibet Daily then published one of the articles submitted as part of the competition, a translation of which follows as Document 14b [TIN Ref N97ja19c]. The article attacks religion and describes it as a "prominent obstacle to social progress".

Document 14a

"Civilisation cup"- Spiritual Civilisation construction article contest

Notice:

In order to deepen the implementation of the 6th plenary session of the 14th Central Committee and the 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee, to step up the creation of a positive environment in which the construction of Spiritual Civilisation is being discussed and talked about, and to attract the participation of all sections of society in the activities of the construction of Spiritual Civilisation, the office of the TAR Office for Spiritual Civilisation Construction and

Tibet Daily are jointly organising "Civilisation Cup", an article contest for Spiritual Civilisation construction. We welcome enthusiastic participation from all sectors of society.

The requirements for the contest are as follow:

1. Topics: the contest sets three topics:

A. [Topic one] "Every one talks about Spiritual Civilisation". Focusing on the discussion of one event or suggestions of measures for [spiritual] construction. The article must be around 1000 words.

2. [Topic two] "The hundred flower park of the construction of Spiritual Civilisation". Focusing on the report of advanced models, experience of success and outstanding achievement in all trades and professions in the construction of the Spiritual Civilisation. Around 2000 words.

3. [Topic three] "Spiritual Civilisation, the importance lies in construction." Ideological articles focusing on discussions of major problems, tasks and policies of Spiritual Civilisation in our

region. About 3000 words.

B. The period for article collection: from 1st December 1996 to 31st May 1997.

C. Selection method: every selected article will be reviewed by the contest organising committee. Within each topic awards of first, second and third prize and

a number of consolation awards will be given. In addition to the standard fees for the article selected for publication the award winning articles will receive certificates and rewards.

D. Address of correspondence: All articles must be addressed to the correspondence unit of the Chinese language

editing department of "Tibet Daily". Please specify "Spiritual Cup contest article" on the envelope or on the article.

Contact telephone: 6331946 / 632840
(The TAR Office for Spiritual
Civilisation Construction
[or] 633995 (Tibet Daily)

Document 14b

Articles on Constructing Spiritual Civilisation Contributed to the "Civilisation Cup"
Everybody Discusses Constructing Spiritual Civilisation

Arranged Jointly by the TAR Office for Spiritual Civilisation Construction and the Tibet Daily

"Doing Away With the Negative Influence of Religion should Start From the Basics"

Liu Shengfu

The 2nd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee made doing away with the spiritual bondage of the people by religious spiritualism an important task in the construction of Spiritual Civilisation; and taking a clear stand, they sent out a call to the whole region to strengthen the construction of ideological morality. Also, at the beginning of the New Year, the TAR Party Committee and government convened a regional Rural Technology Working Conference, making plans and conducting special research on the question of increasing the dynamism of science and technology work in agricultural and herding areas. This is a further significant policy decision for throwing off the negative influence of religion. The day that the spring wind of science and technology blows vigorously across the snow highlands will certainly be a time when the broad masses of the people consciously throw off the spiritual bondage of religion, bid farewell to ignorance and backwardness, and move swiftly towards a civilised society.

Looking broadly at the history of Tibetan society, the shaping of many outmoded conventions, bad customs, ignorant and backward phenomena is directly related to the negative influence of religion. The laws of the country permit citizens the freedom of religious belief, but at the same time they also stress that religion and socialist society should mutually adapt. Especially today, as we energetically engage in the construction of socialist Spiritual Civilisation, an era when the Party and government lead the people in sparing no effort in the construction of a great civilised, progressive, strong and prosperous motherland; the negative influence of

theistic religious spiritualism has clearly become a prominent obstacle to social progress. It is natural that the construction of socialist Spiritual Civilisation should be used to do away with this kind of spiritual fetter.

The vigorous strengthening of science and technology work in the countryside is a strategic measure for doing away with the negative influence of religion from the basics. The willing acceptance from generation to generation by many herders and farmers of the enslavement of their life and the bondage of their spirit by religious spiritualism, is largely a product of their own ignorance. The poorer they are the more they seek spiritual aid, the more they seek spiritual aid the more impoverished they are, round and round in this way in a vicious circle. An effective method to eradicate this kind of human tragedy is precisely to raise the quality of the scientific culture of the whole ethnic group. If the masses grasp science, then they will be able to take the road to civilisation and prosperity by believing in and relying on science. At that time, the influence of religion on the masses will of itself weaken and even disappear. The practice of many localities has already completely proved this point.

Conducting atheist, Marxist education of school students is the strategic task of those carrying on the cause of fostering socialism. Young people are the future of society; in order that they do not suffer again the bitterness of the fetters and bondage of religious spiritualism as their forefathers did, and that they truly take up the important task of constructing a unified, prosperous, and civilised Socialist New Tibet, all types of school should attach great importance to using a Marxist religious viewpoint to educate students.

As I understand it, at present all schools of each type do not yet have an integrated system in this aspect of teaching materials, and where there is, it is merely a few administrative measures, oversimply requiring that students facing the influence of religious teaching not be permitted such-and-such and have to do such-and-such. When this even goes as far as odd cases where one or two teachers use an erroneous religious viewpoint to teach their students, we have to say that this is a fault in our work.

Regarding the religious problem, there should be different requirements from persons of each social stratum. In accordance with the law and relevant policies and regulations, [we] should protect those legal activities of temples and monks that ought to be protected, but they must be placed under the administration of the government. The masses should be permitted freedom of religious belief, but at the same time we should actively conduct educational guidance, and under a prerequisite of self-consciousness help them to realise self-liberation. As for Party members and Cadres, there must be attention to standpoint, attention to principles, attention to Party spirit, and attention to discipline. Communist Party members and State cadres must be atheist materialists, if not they are quite simply traitors to Marxist-Leninism. When Communist Party people, who have 'serve the people' as their aim, see the serious harm created in the spiritual and productive life of the masses by the negative influence of religion; if they don't feel distress and anxiety, and on the contrary remain indifferent, where is the Party spirit in this? There can no longer be the slightest hesitation or vagueness on this important question of principle.

Document 15

The following is a translation from the 30 January 1997 Chinese language edition of the Tibet Daily. The article says that since public security organs take responsibility for the prestige of the Party, the reputation of the country and the personal benefits of the masses, public security personnel must possess moral and ideological quality. Social stability is the primary function of security organs and is also a prerequisite for the construction of Spiritual Civilisation, argues the article [TIN Ref: n97ja30b].

Politics and law forum

Public Security Work and Spiritual Civilisation

Properly understanding and handling the relationship between public security work and construction of Spiritual Civilisation, and earnestly strengthening the construction of Spiritual Civilisation, are practical requirements for promoting the construction of public security troops and establishing the form of the people's police in the new era. It is also an important guarantee that public security work is being done properly. Public security organs themselves building Spiritual Civilisation is determined by public security organs' character, functions and the duties of public security work. The chief task of public security work is to safeguard the state and the security of lives and property of all its people and social stability and order, and to prevent, check and punish criminal actions that violate the law. Public security organs, in the course of carrying out their duties, whether the work is done well or not has an effect on the prestige of the Party and the reputation of the country, respect for the dictatorial organs and personal benefits for the masses. Moreover, the realisation of public security work absolutely depends on actual law enforcement by the vast numbers of people's public security police. This requires public security organs to be responsible to the Party, to the people, and to the law. So it is absolutely necessary that the vast numbers of public security police should have the basic qualities required by construction of socialist Spiritual Civilisation, including ideological and political qualities, moral cultivation and a fine image of enforcing the law. Only by possessing the qualities demanded by socialist Spiritual Civilisation can all the tasks of public security work be smoothly accomplished. Strengthening construction of Spiritual Civilisation in the public security organs themselves, working hard to enhance the ideological and moral cultivation, the scientific and educational level and the concepts of democracy and law of the vast numbers of people's public security police, training the people's

police to have a respectful spirit towards the people [*chonggao jingshen*], purifying the public security ranks, [and so] enabling the vast numbers of public security police to pass the barriers of power, money, human emotions and the law. Only in this way can they completely fulfil the responsibilities given to them by the Party and the people.

Public security work creates a good social environment for the construction of Spiritual Civilisation in the whole of society. Protecting the state's political and social stability is the first responsibility of public security work. Without a stable environment, "construction of the two civilisations" would only be an empty saying, and the results already obtained in construction of the two civilisations would also be lost. The public security organs, by means of powerful public security work, severely attacking criminal activities which destroy political stability and social order, can create a stable social environment for construction of the two civilisations. On the other hand, in strengthening Spiritual Civilisation Construction as provided by the "Party Central Committee Resolution on Enhancing the Establishment of Socialist Spiritual Civilisation and Other Related Questions", the important elements are to "resolutely eliminate the vile social phenomena of pornography, gambling and drugs", "resolutely prohibit the production and dissemination of cultural rubbish", "resolutely bring under control the bad public security situation in some areas", and "punish and attack illegal behaviour which endangers society", and these are also important elements in public security work.

Public security work, by means of striking, management and other public security work, punishing illegal criminal activity, restraining and checking uncivilised behaviour, brings about the formation of an atmosphere in society of "support what is correct and drive away what is evil, punish what is wicked and propagate what is good", and plays the role of cleansing the atmosphere in

society. At the same time as strictly enforcing the law, public security organs should bring into play their function as a window [*chuangkou*], and through their work including "love the people, benefit the people and suit the convenience of the people", in relation to raising the ideological and moral quality of the people and establishing new socialist customs including "happy to help others" and the "five speeches and four beauties", they will have a role of exerting a subtle influence. Practice has proved that the "the Jinan traffic police effect" [*Jinan jiaojing xiaoying*] has pushed forward the deepening development of spiritual civilisation construction in all types of police and among all professions, has struck a sympathetic chord throughout society, and revealed the great work in spurring on which public security work plays in the construction of Spiritual Civilisation.

Construction of Spiritual Civilisation has also brought about the start of a new situation in public security work. Construction of Spiritual Civilisation in the whole of society has been carried out well, the social atmosphere has been cleansed, and the level of ideological and moral training and concepts of the legal system and so on of the broad masses of people has been raised. On the one hand, the crime rate may [*hui*] fall considerably, which will alleviate the difficult situation in public security work in bearing an excessive workload year in year out. On the other hand, the broad masses will have a greater comprehension and support for public security work, and they will actively struggle against criminal elements. Problems including "obtaining proof" which for a long time have caused difficulties in public security work will also be able to be resolved. This will have a profound influence on increasing the effectiveness of public security work and on establishing a completely new and good image of law enforcement of the people's police.

Document 16

The following document is a letter to the editor of the Tibet Daily taken from the 25 April 1996 edition of the paper, from someone complaining about a rickshaw driver who had over-charged him, and commenting about how this sort of behaviour runs counter to the drive to build Spiritual Civilisation in the region. [TIN Ref N97ap25b]

Who will deal with this sort of behaviour from rickshaw pullers?

Comrade Editor,

At 2pm on the 17th of March I hailed a rickshaw at the door of the Sunshine Hotel, wanting to attend to some business at the TAR government [offices]. At the time, we settled a price of 3 yuan, but when we reached the end of Shizi Road, to the west of the Municipal People's Hospital, the rickshaw puller said it was 3 yuan from the Sunshine Hotel to Chong Sai Kang, and 3 yuan from Chong Sai Kang to the TAR government [offices], 6 yuan in all. I was in too much of a hurry

to argue!

I had still more to do at the Civil Aviation Bureau, and so first got out of the rickshaw there. When the time came to pay, I handed over a 10 yuan note as I had no change. Then the rickshaw puller brought 3 yuan out of his pocket, saying he had no more change. I could see that there was enough in his pocket to make up 4 yuan, then to my surprise he said he wanted 8 yuan, and I still had to give him another 1 yuan. I saw that it was hopeless and just had to accept my bad luck.

I'm not really bothered about 1 or 2 yuan, but having heard a long time ago that some rickshaw pullers make chaotic fare demands, today I finally bumped into one myself. Right now the whole country is intent on constructing Spiritual Civilisation. Doesn't this kind of behaviour really run counter to Spiritual Civilisation?

The rickshaw was number "00361"; I hope the relevant department will visit on him robust investigation and punishment.

Document 17: Extracts from Tibet Daily commentaries on the 3rd enlarged session of the 5th TAR Party Committee

These extracts are taken from a series of seven commentaries published in the Tibet Daily between 2 and 17 December 1997. The extracts deal with building Spiritual Civilisation and with studying Deng Xiaoping Theory; the major motivating force is still clearly the struggle against "splittism" and the "Dalai clique". The numbering of these extracts is consistent with the numbering of the original commentaries. [Translations: SWB FE/3128, 19 January 1998]

(1) Hold high the great banner and keep to the course of advance - first discourse on earnestly studying and implementing the spirit of the 3rd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee

[...] By holding high the great banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory, adhering to the Party's basic line, and following the guiding principles for work in Tibet during the new period, we have created a brand new situation of stability and development in our region since the 14th National Party Congress, especially since the Third Forum on Work in Tibet. Tibet has made a sustained, healthy and rapid development in its economy, caught up with the rest of the country in making reform and opening to the outside world, experienced greater support from other parts of the country in the corresponding departments, constantly increased social productive forces and the people's living standards, scored great success in struggling against splittism, entered a new stage in the development of Spiritual Civilisation, and continued to increase the fighting power of party organisations at all levels. The vast plateau is marked by economic development, stable situation, unity among nationalities, social progress,

prosperity in all fields of endeavour, and thriving scenes everywhere. We can absolutely say with pride that Tibet has entered the best historical period in construction and development. [...]

(2) Strive to emancipate the mind in close combination with realities - second discourse on earnestly studying and implementing the spirit of the 3rd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee

The 3rd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee states that "it is still an important task for the present and the future to emancipate the mind and renew ideas". To comprehensively implement the meeting's spirit and accomplish the grand goals that extend into the next century, we should strive to emancipate the mind in close combination with the realities in our region...

The crux to emancipating minds lies in combining with realities and breaking all mental shackles that have long hampered our advance. What is the most important reality in our region? At the 3rd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee, Comrade Ragdi stated: "Tibet's economic and social development

is in a backward state as compared with other parts of China. We can say that it is at the low level of the primary stage of socialism." Many factors account for this backwardness. Some factors are from social history and some from natural history. The long-term interference and sabotage by the Dalai clique is also to blame. But one other important reason is the backward ideas, understanding and concepts.

A review of the development in nearly 20 years of reform and opening to the outside world shows that we have had the same opportunities, time frame, and starting point. However, due to the shackles by closed-mindedness and outdated ideas a small error led to a large discrepancy. Outdated ideas take many forms, the main ones being: closed-mindedness, conservativeness, satisfaction with the status quo, a wait-and-see attitude, and reluctance to make progress or accept new things; the damaging idea that "Tibet is unique", and the perennial attitude of waiting, depending on others and asking for help; eating from the same big pot, and living a carefree life from the iron rice bowl; the type of person who blindly opposes everything foreign, and who prevents others from doing what he

himself does not want to do; and departments infested with "bureaucratic style" and poor efficiency. These phenomena have become prominent obstacles to our region's economic development and social progress. Therefore, further emancipating the mind and renewing the concepts are an urgent matter at present. [...]

(3) Clearly understand the region's basic situation, grasp the major contradictions - third discourse on earnestly studying and implementing the spirit of the 3rd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee

[...] We have described the basic situation that should be deeply understood in studying and implementing the spirit of the 3rd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee, and the two major contradictions that should be grasped firmly. In other words, in the triumphant long march towards the 21st century, we should persist in fighting on two fronts: One is to concentrate our energy and take big strides to promote construction, and declare war against poverty and backwardness; the other is to wage protracted struggle against the splittist forces headed by Dalai and against their interference and sabotage. The former is designed to speed up development, while the latter is for social stability. This is the concrete demonstration in Tibet of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's guiding thought of "building the two civilisations simultaneously and attaching equal importance to both". Stability and development are closely related, and are cause and effect for each other. They are the two major things that should be handled well in order to realise

the grand goals. We should promote reform and development while maintaining social stability, and realise social stability in the course of reform and development. Eventually we will strive for development as the last word, and accomplish the tough jobs it entails. This is the dialectical relationship between reform, development and stability.[...]

(6) Persist in combining destruction with construction, accelerate the pace of eliminating chaos and ignorance - sixth discourse on earnestly studying and implementing the spirit of the 3rd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee

While comprehensively and systematically implementing the spirit of the 15th National Party Congress, the 3rd (enlarged) plenary session of the 5th TAR Party Committee adhered to and implemented the principle of "building the two civilisations simultaneously and attaching equal importance to both" in the light of the actual conditions in Tibet, and specifically pointed out: It is necessary to persist in combining destruction with construction, start with accelerating the pace of eliminating chaos and ignorance, seriously solve conspicuous problems existing in the spiritual sphere in our region, and effectively promote the building of Spiritual Civilisation to a new level in a down-to-earth manner. Correctly grasping this guiding ideology, target, and task and leading the people of various nationalities in our region to successfully promote the building of socialist Spiritual Civilisation are an urgent task facing us at present and for a certain period of time to come.

Persisting in combining destruction with construction and accelerating the

pace of eliminating chaos and ignorance are an objective requirement for strengthening the building of both material and Spiritual Civilisations in our region. Material civilisation and Spiritual Civilisation condition and serve each other. The building of material civilisation provides material conditions as well as practice and experiences for the building of Spiritual Civilisation. The building of Spiritual Civilisation plays a big role in expediting the building of material civilisation. The building of education, science, and culture provides a support in terms of intelligence for the building of material civilisation and the building of moral ethics provides theoretical guidance as well as a spiritual and ideological driving force for the building of material civilisation. They shape a social environment favourable for the building of material civilisation.

Why has the building of material civilisation in our region always lagged behind the rest of China over a protracted period of time? Why did our region miss many opportunities for development? The most important reason is that we have not shaped a social environment favourable for development, and have not correctly solved problems existing in the spiritual sphere. As regards contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, Western hostile forces support the Dalai clique, attempt to use Tibet as a breach to "Westernise" and "split up" China, and continuously intensify attacks against China. The Dalai secessionist clique use the influence of religion to spread the idea of "Tibet independence", mould public opinion in favour of secession, and stir up incidents and disturbance. [...]

Appendix I

Cultural Policy in Tibet: Speech by Chen Kuiyuan, 11 July 1997 [extract]

Culture and language are extremely sensitive political issues in Tibet. They are also closely linked to the drive to develop Spiritual Civilisation, due to the cultural implications of social and economic change, religious activity and concepts such as "narrow nationalism". The struggle against the Dalai Lama and "splittism", and the desire to make religion adapt to socialist society, have the same impact on cultural and language policies as they do on other policies.

On 11 July 1997, shortly after the Hong Kong hand-over, Chen Kuiyuan (TAR Party Secretary) delivered a long speech in which he discussed culture and education. These are areas in which Chen holds notoriously hard-line views. In this speech Chen said that literary and art work were divorced from real life and the working people; while artistic form and appeal were stressed, political tendencies and ideology were not strictly controlled. National characteristics were understood in a one-sided way and "backward customs" were being adopted as "national characteristics". Chen also claimed that Buddhism is a foreign culture and that Tibetan culture should not be equated with Buddhism. In Marxism-Leninism, the "nationalities" are the ruling class and working class rather than the people of a nation. Chen states that nationalities should learn from one another to improve their cultures. He also discusses education and the use of the Tibetan and Chinese languages, and attacks the "Dalai clique's" attempt, so to speak, to restore serfdom and the unified religious/state system.

His speech is an example of how the aims and motivations which lie behind attempts to "build Spiritual Civilisation" in Tibet also surface in other unrelated policy statements. The phrase "Spiritual Civilisation" is, in fact, hardly mentioned in the speech. In the extract given below, Chen attacks the "Dalai clique", defines "national culture" and discusses the relationship between Buddhism and Tibetan culture. The hardline speech defines any divergence from the new position on culture as support for the Dalai Lama. It represents part of an attempt to redefine Tibetan culture in the context of anti-separatism.

The speech was published in the 16 July 1997 edition of the Tibet Daily and reproduced in English by the BBC Monitoring Service on 5 August 1997.

Comrades:

[...] It is necessary to clearly understand the reactionary nature of the slogans used by the Dalai clique to advocate national culture and to strive to develop socialist national culture. The Dalai clique is now desperately alleging that the Tibetan national culture and religion are destroyed and that the Tibetan nationality is also in danger of destruction. In a recent speech abroad, the Dalai said: "The fundamental purposes of our struggle are to achieve political independence and, more importantly, to restore our inherent traditional culture, religion, and morality". "We want to restore our traditional religion, culture, and history formed over the past thousands of years". What he called the restoration of traditional religion, culture, and history, in short, means the restoration of the system of unity of the state and the church and the serf system. As Lenin pointed out in criticizing the slogans of some European bourgeois parties regarding national culture early in this century, what the Dalai was attempting to do was nothing but to achieve the following aims:

1. To create national segregation and

oppose the Tibetan nationality's exchanges with its fraternal nationalities;

2. To make the oppressed classes and the oppressing class of the nationality "close to each other and advocate sharing one culture regardless of class, status, monk, or layman; people from the Dalai to his flatterers and to serfs all share one culture, and they all belong to one family and do the same work no matter whether they are exploiters or working people, communists or splittists. To put it bluntly, this is aimed at obscuring the dividing line between classes.

3. The Dalai attempts to cause "disputes between one national culture and another"; the intention of the Dalai clique is to make a so-called unified Tibetan culture oppose a Han culture. It is not strange at all that the Dalai clique has made such statements. This is because the Dalai takes the splittist stand, which is opposed to the position of our country. But what is strange is that a very small number of people in Tibet and other parts of the country have made the same statements as the Dalai clique's. There are

several representative views that should be exposed. When you encounter such views, you should be vigilant. The first such view is to equate Tibetan national culture with Tibetan religion, alleging that the Tibetan national culture is actually a Buddhist culture and that there would be no Tibetan national culture without a Buddhist culture. Some people say that the Tibetan national culture is connected to religion in form and essence. Some others say that college teaching material will be void of substance if religion is not included and that in that case, colleges would not be real colleges. If what such people talked about were a Buddhist college, I would have no comment. But what they refer to is a Tibet University, so they have no reason whatsoever to make such an allegation. After all, is the Tibetan national culture equivalent to a Buddhist culture? If one should say that the Tibetan national culture came into being after Buddhist culture, one would have shortened the history of Tibetan civilisation by more than 1,000 years. As is known to all, there was no Buddhism in Tibet over a long period of time. Buddhism came into being only a little over 2,500 years ago.

Buddhism was spread to Tibet during the Songzanganbu period, and it began to be spread as a culture in the later period of development of Tibetan Buddhism; it has been only 700 to 800 years from then to now, but the history of Tibetan civilisation has more than 2,100 years, starting from the Xipuye Dynasty created by Niechizanpu. The dynasty went through 32 generations from Niechizanpu to Songzanganpu, which corresponded to a long historical period in the Central Plains, a period from the height of power and splendor in the Western Han Dynasty, or rather from the 15th year after Emperor Wu ascended the throne, through the new Wang Mang period, the Eastern Han Dynasty, the Three Kingdoms, the Jin Dynasty, the Northern and Southern Dynasties, and the Sui Dynasty to the Tang Dynasty. How could it be said that Tibet had no culture in such a long historical period? As everyone knows, in that historical period, Tibet conducted extensive cultural exchanges with the interior of the country and with its neighbours India and Nepal. It was in that period that Tibet created its written language and developed medicine and an astronomical calendar and that a great medical scientist Yutuo Yundangongbo authored the famous "four volumes of medicine" which have been handed down to posterity. Judging from the poems written by Dousongmangjiebo, grandson of Songzanganpu, the then literature and art of Tibet also reached a fairly high level, and so did the "Biography of King Gesar" and other works circulated among the people. Is this not Tibetan culture? Is only Buddhism Tibetan culture? It is utterly absurd. Buddhism is a foreign culture. If it is said that the Tibetan nationality had no culture before the arrival of Buddhist culture, is it not said that the Tibetan people used to be a nationality without a culture? The view of equating Buddhist culture with Tibetan culture not only does not conform to reality but also belittles the ancestors of the Tibetan nationality and the Tibetan nationality itself. I just cannot understand that. Some people, claiming to be authorities, have made such shameless statements confusing truth and falsehood. Comrades who are engaged in research on Tibetan culture should be indignant at such statements. Making use of religion in the political field, splittists now go all out

to put religion above the Tibetan culture and attempt to use the spoken language and culture to cause disputes and antagonism between nationalities, and this is the crux of the matter.

It is essential to have an accurate understanding of national culture. National culture was no longer a pure and simple thing after the beginning of class society. Marxism holds that in class society, each nationality has different cultures, the culture of the ruling class and that of the working people. The situation in Tibet is very clear in this regard; folk dances, poems, songs, and regional dances were created by working people, and this is the inexhaustible source of traditional national culture which we should inherit. There were also some things enjoyed by the upper ruling class, which constituted the culture of the ruling class. Marx once said that the French nation was divided into two nationalities - one was the bourgeoisie, and the other the proletariat. Lenin said that each modern nation had two nationalities and that each national culture consisted of two national cultures - the culture of the ruling class and that of the working people. In his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art", Comrade Mao Zedong said: There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hate without cause or reason. We do not love the enemy or ugly phenomena. He called on literary and art workers to go among the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers because raw materials for literature and art existed in the lives of the people. Tibetan culture consists of secular and religious cultures. Secular culture is composed of the culture of the feudal aristocrats and serf owners as well as the culture of the working people. If it is said that there is no difference between the Dalai and ordinary people and that they all enjoy a single culture, that is unrealistic; such a view is a refurbished version of the bourgeois concept of national culture. There are no masses of people in the eyes of those holding such a view. In talking about national culture, we must respect the masses of people and go among them to absorb cultural nutriment and must not belittle the culture of the working people. Various nationalities should culturally exchange with and learn from one another in order to improve their cultures together. We should not belittle ourselves, nor should we have too high an

opinion of ourselves. For instance, the levels of creation and performance of vocal music in our region is quite high, but musical instruments are very poor; basic dance movements are very graceful and with unique characteristics, but dance programmes are created in a rather monotonous way. In recent years, Mongolian and other fraternal nationalities have conducted a lot of activities on the stage in the capital, Yunnan, Guizhou, and other fraternal places. We should learn and draw lessons from them. All comrades who are conscious and strive for cultural progress should welcome cultural exchanges and be a promoter in this regard. Tibetan songs and dances were all the rage across the country in the 1950s and 1960s. For instance, songs like "On Gold Mountain in Beijing", "Bitter Becomes Sweet After the Arrival of the Communists", and "Emancipated Serfs Are Singing" and dances like "Strolling Around a New city" were sung or performed in various parts of the country. How did those songs and dances come into being? They were created together by comrades of Tibetan and Han nationalities in literary and art circles, which were a result of learning from one another and of their concerted efforts (then Raidi chipped in by saying: At that time, some songs were spread to various parts of the world, such as the "Clothes-Washing Song"; no such songs or programmes have been produced now). The Tibetan national culture is of long-standing and well-established. In inheriting the culture, it is necessary to analyse it, to discard its dross, and carry forward the good part of it. The development of national culture is a result of "developing what is useful or healthy and discard what is not". Attention should be paid to giving expression to things from the working people; the "Wall-Building Song", which was sung this time, is about the life of working people. The form of such things is loved by people, and they ideologically and emotionally reflect the happiness, anger, grief, and joy of the masses. We should have the same feelings as those of the working people, mix with them, and depict their creative activities. (Raidi interposed this remark: The programme "Emancipated Serfs Go to College" created by the Shannan Art Troupe was very good, but it became no good at all after being adapted)

Strike Hard Campaign

"The struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" is entirely in keeping with the anti-separation struggle."

Ragdi, 9 May 1996

"We should firmly crack down on prostitution and visiting prostitutes, producing and peddling pornographic items, using and trafficking in drugs, sponsoring gambling and other ugly things in society."

Court notice, 20 May 1996

"We resolutely sentenced them [homicide and robbery] to death according to law and, after that, all walks of life clapped their hands for joy."

TAR Court Work Report for 1996

"In particular, greater efforts must be made to improve the work and clearing up and straightening out monasteries."

Ragdi, August 1996

"We must attack and be on guard against splittists and all types of criminals and in addition promptly, powerfully and effectively safeguard social and political stability in the region..."

Tibet Daily, 15 February 1997



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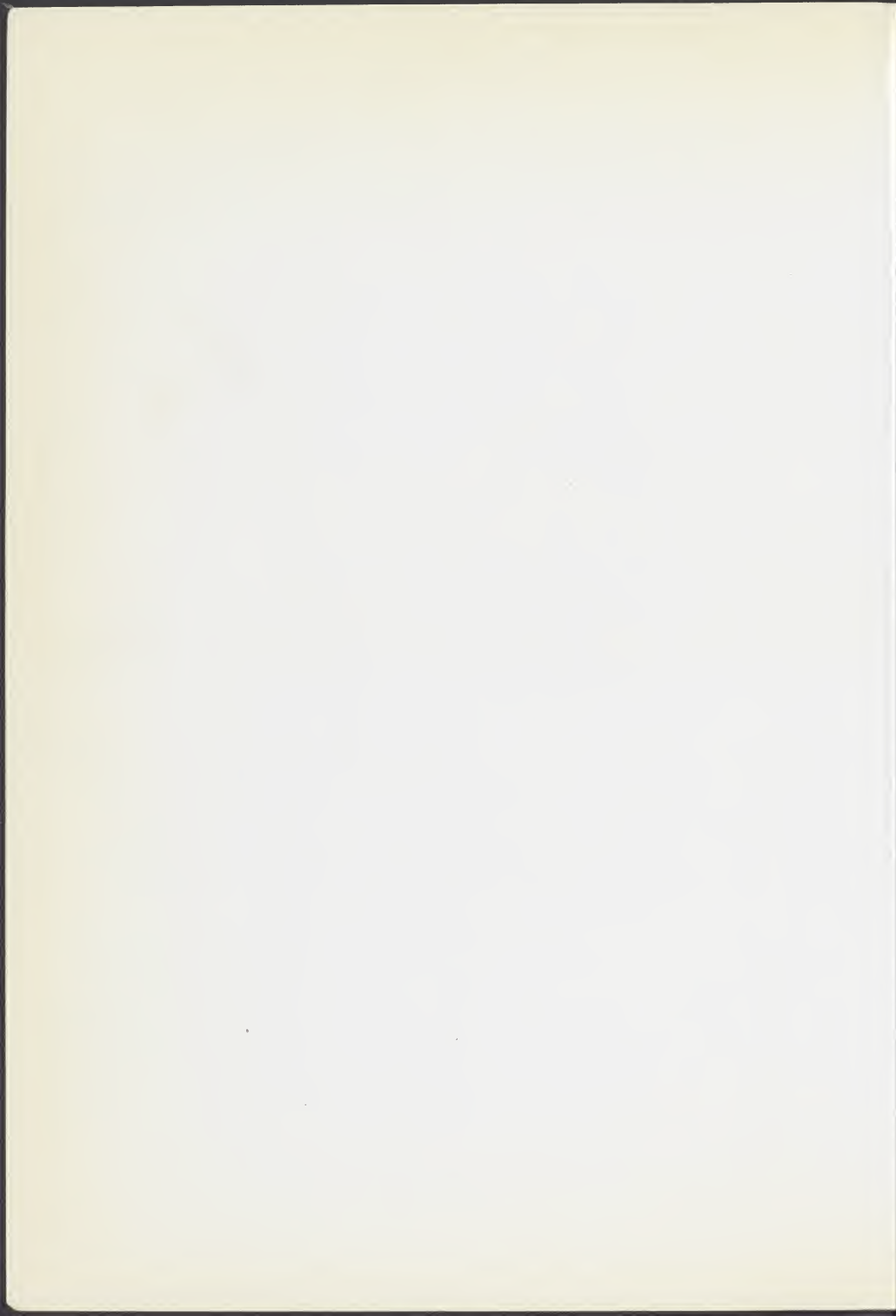
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Introduction

The Strike Hard¹ campaign, an anti-crime campaign, was formally launched in 9 May 1996; it was originally intended to last for a period of three months. It was not the first campaign of this type to take place in Tibet (or in China as a whole²). For example, a large-scale anti-crime campaign took place in Tibet during 1990-1; its targets were primarily criminal activities rather than political or separatist activities. Similarly, a drive against crimes such as murder, drug-trafficking and robbery was part of the campaign launched in 1996. In addition, this campaign was seen as a means of preparing the ground for the building of Spiritual Civilisation³; a fresh drive to achieve this goal was launched in Tibet in the autumn of 1996. Perhaps most significantly of all, the recent Strike Hard campaign has been firmly linked with the struggle against separatism.

The campaign was officially launched in Tibet at a rally in Lhasa on 9 May 1996. Ragdi, deputy secretary of the TAR Party Committee, gave a speech saying that the fundamental purposes of the campaign were "to safeguard social stability and to ensure that the economy in our region can develop faster, frontier defences can become stronger and the people can live and work in peace and contentment." He linked the campaign specifically with the struggle against separatism and accused the "Dalai clique" of constantly carrying out violent and terrorist sabotage activities, saying: "Tibet is located on the front-line of the anti-separation struggle, and safeguarding social stability and the motherland's unity is the most important political responsibility". Throughout the campaign, official statements and press articles have continued to focus on "splittism" and on the use of the Strike Hard campaign to attack "separatists". In November 1997, a special winter Strike Hard campaign was launched in Lhasa, its declared aim being to prevent and crack down on separatists' sabotage activities and various criminal activities.

The preoccupation with fighting separatist elements has been central not only to the development of the Strike Hard campaign but also to the formation and development of the Patriotic Education campaign and the building of Spiritual Civilisation. When the Patriotic Education campaign was launched, a full page editorial on the front page of the 5 April 1996 edition of the Tibet Daily called on the campaign to eradicate the "Dalai splittist forces' influence". On 29 July 1996, Phagbalha Geleg Namgyal, vice-chairman of the Tibet Autonomous Region CPPCC, said that the purpose of conducting Patriotic Education in monasteries was to "remove the breeding ground and hotbed for the Dalai clique's splittist activities in Tibet". In August 1996 the Strike Hard and Patriotic Education drives were linked by Ragdi. In a speech announcing an extension to the Strike Hard campaign, he said: "In particular, greater efforts must be made to improve the work of clearing up and straightening out monasteries."

The authorities see the Strike Hard campaign and attacks on separatism as essential to the economic development of Tibet. A commentary on Tibet TV on 29 May 1996 declared: "We may well say that the success of the campaign is a prerequisite for maintaining a high degree of unity with the Party Central Committee: it is also a major issue for whether the people in Tibet can stand hand-in-hand with the people in other parts of the country in achieving economic prosperity." The point was made again on 6 August 1996 by the Tibet Daily: "In order to ensure the successful realisation of our trans-century grand goal, we must not slacken our efforts." Similarly, the drive to build Spiritual Civilisation has sought to encourage movement away from old traditions, customs and beliefs, in order to ensure that the kind of economic development that the government wants for Tibet takes place.

When it was launched, the Strike Hard

campaign in China was designed to last for three months, comprising four stages. In Tibet, where the campaign started several weeks later, the three months would have expired at the start of August 1996. However, on 5 August, the authorities announced an extension to the campaign, and called on "the whole society to go into action [to] fight against separatists' splittist and sabotage activities". On 29 October, Li Xianwen, Lhasa's deputy director of public security, announced that specially targeted Strike Hard campaign struggles would be launched during the next month. Further Strike Hard campaign actions were launched at intervals, and on 6 April 1998 Tsultrim, secretary of the commission for comprehensive management of public security of the TAR Party Committee, suggested that special campaigns should be launched to deal with specific problems relating to public security. It appears that the Strike Hard campaign in Tibet has become an ongoing campaign, with peaks and troughs of activity, rather than a one-off attack on separatist and criminal activities.

The pressure for results during the Strike Hard campaign has led to efforts to streamline judicial procedures. Bai Zhao, president of the TAR Regional People's Court, said in a speech on 10 May 1996 that the people's courts should "speed up proceedings relating to various criminal offences". On 17 June 1996, he praised a court in Shigatse which had "interrogated defendants throughout the night" and which "took only ten days" to review verdicts and carry out executions.

Expedited procedures were introduced in China during the anti-crime drive in 1983, with the NPC eliminating some of the procedural safeguards contained in the 1979 Criminal Procedure Law⁴. A Decision of the NPC Standing Committee⁵ stated that in cases where "criminal elements" have committed offences "endangering public security" and where "the major facts of the crime are clear, the evidence is conclusive and

¹In Chinese; *yanda*

²In China, the first such large-scale crackdown on crime took place in 1983, and another nation-wide anti-crime drive was launched in May 1990. When China's latest Strike Hard campaign was launched in April 1996, its targets were corruption and common crimes such as murder, rape and gun-running; it did not explicitly target political offenders.

³See, for example, document 15 in the Spiritual Civilisation section.

⁴The 1979 Criminal Procedure Law was adopted by the second session of the Fifth NPC on 1 July 1979. According to Peng Zhen, the 1979 Criminal Procedure Law was designed to play a role in preventing "indiscriminate arrests and detentions, frame-ups, and encroachment on the personal rights and the democratic and other rights of the cadres and the masses". Guanyu qige falu cao de shuoming (Explanation Concerning Seven Draft Laws), cited in "Opening to Reform? An Analysis of China's Revised Criminal Procedure Law", Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, New York, October 1996

⁵"Decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Concerning the Procedure for the Rapid Adjudication of Criminal Elements Who Seriously Endanger Social Order", adopted September 2, 1983

they have incurred great popular indignation", those cases should be tried rapidly and promptly. The courts were enabled to bring defendants to trial without giving them a copy of the indictment in advance, without giving warning of the trial and without serving summonses in advance to all parties involved. As a consequence, defendants could be tried without the assistance of a lawyer and without knowing what the charges were. An amendment made to the Organic Law in 1983 allowed the Supreme People's Court to authorise lower-level courts to approve death sentences in these cases. Under these expedited procedures, there had been 29 officially listed executions in Tibet by the end of 1996. The rate of executions at that point was one for about every 65,000 members of the population - eight times

higher than the estimated rate in China, where it is believed that at least 2,200 people had been executed to the end of 1996⁶.

The legislation applicable in the TAR comprises for the most part legislation passed at the national level (by the NPC or its Standing Committee). The main laws governing criminal justice are the Criminal Law and the Criminal Procedure Law. Both of these laws have been radically revised, with those revisions coming into effect on 1 October 1997 and 1 January 1997 respectively. For a detailed analysis by TIN of the major changes to those laws, see Appendix 2.

There may, though, be difficulties in implementation of the new law. One problem is said to be lack of sufficient explanation in the law. A set of regulations, said to have the same effect as the

revised Criminal Procedure Law, was released on 20 February 1998 by China's judiciary and law enforcement offices; according to officials, the law had been enforced differently in different places, due to the "lack of necessary judicial explanation". The example cited was judicial workers who stopped lawyers from meeting with clients⁷. Another problem that may arise is pressure for results, or a "campaign mentality" arising from campaigns such as the Strike Hard. Significantly, just after the passage of the amendments to the Criminal Procedure Law, a new phase in the China-wide Strike Hard campaign was announced; in the following months, more than 1,000 people were executed, some, it is reported, after abbreviated legal proceedings.

1. Launch of the Strike Hard Campaign

Document 1: Excerpts from a speech by Ragdi, 9 May 1996

In Tibet, the three-month campaign was launched on 9 May 1996, with a rally held in Lhasa being attended by 1,200 senior cadres. Speeches were given by Lobsang Dondrup, secretary of the Lhasa Party Committee, and by Ragdi, executive deputy secretary of the TAR Party Committee. In his speech, extracts of which are given below, Ragdi emphasised that the "struggle to 'severely crack down on crime'" was entirely in keeping with the anti-separation struggle⁸; he also emphasised the principle of "severely and speedily" meting out punishments and mentioned the need to crack down on other criminal activities such as drug addiction, prostitution, pornography and gambling. He called for unity of purpose and mobilisation of the masses to report and expose crimes. The speech was published in the Tibet Daily, Chinese edition, 11 May 1996 (translation by BBC Monitoring, 20 May 1996).

Seriously Implement the arrangement of the Party Central Committee, earnestly carry out the struggle to 'severely crack down on crimes' in our region [extracts]

The current nation-wide struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" is a strategic arrangement of the Party Central Committee to strengthen the management of social order and to ensure the masses of people live and work in peace and contentment, and is an important guarantee for smoothly carrying out reform, opening up to the outside world, and economic construction, and to realising the Ninth Five-Year Plan and the Long-Term Target for the Year 2010. The rally today is both a rally to mobilise the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" in Lhasa City and a rally to mobilise the struggle to "severely crack

down on crimes" in the whole region. In order to seriously implement the strategic arrangement of the Party Central Committee and to earnestly carry out the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" in our region, I would like to put forward my views in accordance with the guidelines discussed by the Party Committee and the government:

1. Seek unity of thinking and thoroughly understand the great significance of this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes"

In recent years, Party and government organizations at all levels of our region

have attached great importance to the work of safeguarding social stability, and the Party, government, military, police and people have co-ordinated closely, worked with concerted efforts, and made contributions to cracking down on various kinds of crimes, safeguarding the motherland's unity, and maintaining social stability. On the whole, separatists and various kinds of criminal elements have received a serious blow, the situation of the whole region has gradually become more stable and the situation is good. However, instability factors still exist. The Dalai clique, following the failure of a series of plots to separate the motherland, is at an impasse,

⁶Amnesty International figures for 1997 for China are 2,495 death sentences handed down and 1,644 executions: AI believes that the true figures will be far higher.

⁷Xinhua news agency, Beijing, in English 1417 gmt 20 February 1998

⁸"Severely crack down on crime" is equivalent to "Strike Hard"

has frantically pounced on us again, and has constantly carried out violent and terrorist sabotage activities. Since the beginning of last year it has created many incidents of explosions and other incidents [*duo qi bao zha deng an jian*] one after another. Various rampant criminal activities have threatened the safety of the lives and property of the people. Besides, drug addiction, production and sale of pornography, prostitution and visiting prostitutes, gambling and other vicious social phenomena continue to spread despite repeated prohibition. We must be soberly aware that the situation of safeguarding social stability and ensuring social order in our region brooks no blind optimism.

In making arrangements for this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes", the Party Central Committee stressed that this struggle is a strategic arrangement for maintaining social stability, and is an important guarantee for reform and development. The fundamental purpose of carrying out the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" in our region is to safeguard social stability and to ensure the economy in our region can develop faster, the frontier defence can become stronger, and the people can live and work in peace and contentment. Viewed from the situation of social stability and social order in our region, to carry out a powerful and impressive struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" at present is also a pressing task. Party committees and governments at various levels should first of all seriously study a series of important instructions of the central authorities concerning this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes", profoundly understand the spirit of the central authorities, correctly grasp the reality of our region, thoroughly understand the necessity of carrying out the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" in our region, enhance the sense of responsibility and urgency, and really seek unity of thinking on the basis of the strategic policy- decision of the Party Central Committee, and on the basis of the arrangement of the regional Party Committee. Tibet is located on the front-line of the anti-separation struggle, and safeguarding social stability and the motherland's unity is the most important political responsibility. Paying great attention to this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" is both an expression of whether or not we have a sense of the masses of people, and an expression of whether or not we attach

importance to politics. In this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes", every Party member, and leaders at various levels in particular, are faced with an important test. We must regard the attitude and behaviour of cadres at various levels in this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" as an important basis for appraising whether or not their political orientation, political stand, and political viewpoints are correct, whether or not their political ability to differentiate and political sensitivity are good, and whether or not they strictly observe political discipline.

Various localities and various departments must really attach great importance, in thought and in action, to the work of safeguarding social stability and social order, and earnestly carry out the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes". If the leadership of a locality does not ideologically attach importance to the struggle, does not make sufficient effort to make arrangements, or does not take specific measures, thus leading to rampant sabotaging activities of separatist elements, and to failure in making marked improvement in social order, the party committee and government of that locality shall be investigated and responsibility affixed.

II. Carefully organize this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes", make it powerful and impressive

Procuratorial, judicial and public security departments are the main strength in this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" and are duty-bound. These departments at various levels must have a strong sense of responsibility and mission, strengthen various measures, give play to their functions as a whole, earnestly and properly organise activities to crack down on crimes, carry forward the indomitable style of fearing no fatigue and successively making sudden and violent attacks, really make the struggle powerful and impressive, and resolutely crush the unbridled arrogance of the separatist elements and criminal elements.

1. Make well-organised arrangements, and act in unison. This struggle to "crack down on crimes" is different from ordinary special struggles of the past. We must make well-organised arrangements, do careful organisation work, act speedily in unison, and carry out the struggle with leadership, in a planned way, step by step and vigorously. The Regional Political and Law Commission, must, on the existing basis, make further well-

organised arrangements. Various prefectures, cities, and counties must immediately take action and launch several region-wide fruitful and concentrated attacks. The phenomenon of taking no action in cracking down on crimes is not permitted.

2. In connection with the anti-separation struggle, expose key crimes, mobilise in a big way the masses of people to report and expose crimes, and severely crack down on violent sabotage activities.

Various separatist activities created by the Dalai clique and separatist elements within the country's boundary are the main root cause affecting social stability in our region, and the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" is entirely in keeping with the anti-separation struggle. In the course of the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes", we must focus our efforts on hitting hard at violent and terrorist sabotage activities created by separatist elements, and severely crack down on criminal elements involved in smuggling, stealing and illegally possessing arms and ammunition; and we must hotly pursue and fiercely attack such elements, and should never be faint of heart and hesitant in action. Besides, we must carry out a comprehensive check-up on military guns, weapons, ammunition, and explosives among the people, which should first be registered and then handled according to specific circumstances.

3. Uphold the principle of "severely and speedily" meting out punishment for serious criminal elements according to law. We must mete out severe punishment for separatist elements who take risks in desperation, and for criminal elements who committed serious crimes. We must concentrate greater efforts on speedily investigating and cracking a number of important major cases, arresting a number of criminals at large, smashing a number of criminal gangs, and punishing a number of important criminals.

III. Strengthen leadership, ensure actual results in this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes". This struggle to "crack down on crimes" is an important and urgent task

Besides, it is also systematic engineering. In order to obtain actual results in this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes", what is more important is that Party committees and governments at various levels must attach great impor-

tance to it, strengthen leadership and give all-out support, in addition to concentrated attacks launched by the procuratorial, judicial and public security departments. Besides, it is also necessary for various departments and units to energetically co-operate and fight in co-ordination.

1. Party committees and governments at various levels must strengthen leadership, give timely supervision, inspection, and guidance to speed up the work, and implement the system of principal leading cadres undertaking responsibility. Party committees and governments at various levels must regard this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" as an important political task, seriously study it and make arrangements, strengthen supervision and inspection, and give assistance in solving problems. Principal Party and government leading cadres of prefectures, cities and counties must go deep into the front-line, personally take up matters, personally direct the struggle, implement the system of principal leading cadres undertaking responsibility, and strive to bring about a marked improvement in the social and political situation, and social order in respective localities.

2. Thoroughly mobilise and depend on the people of various nationalities. In order to triumphantly fulfil the tasks of the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes", we must fully mobilise and depend on the masses of people to fight a people's war in addition to strengthening Party leadership, depending on specialised departments, and giving play to their functions. We must call on, and mobilise, the people to report and expose evildoers, bad deeds, and criminal elements, and to provide clues for cracking cases so that criminal elements have no place to hide themselves.

We must make great efforts to publicise and earnestly protect the people's righteous deeds and enthusiasm for safeguarding social stability and social order, and must hit hard at criminal elements who retaliate against people reporting and exposing crimes.

3. Energetically co-operate and fight in co-ordination. Propaganda departments must give full play to the role of giving guidance to public opinion in newspapers, magazines, radio and television, make great efforts to properly publicise the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes", launch a powerful offensive in public opinion, inspire the enthusiasm of the people and strengthen the confidence and courage of the people to fight against separatist elements and criminal elements.

Financial departments must provide necessary funds and material for the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes". Discipline inspection and supervision departments must co-ordinate with procuratorial, judicial, and public security departments in carrying out the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes". Leading cadres who are found to have neglected their duty should be investigated and responsibility affixed. We must strictly, speedily, and severely punish Party-member cadres found to have violated law and discipline in the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" and make use of the opportunity to build the Party style and honest administration. All departments and units must go all out to energetically take part in the struggle.

4. Strengthen the comprehensive improvement of the social order. At present, we must make use of the opportunity of carrying the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" to vigorously implement various measures to comprehensively improve social order, vigor-

ously construct the grass-roots foundation and prevent any area or unit from becoming an untouched spot in management. In connection with this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes", we must continue to eliminate various vicious social phenomena. In the struggle to "severely crack down on crimes", the procuratorial departments, the judicial departments, and the public security departments, particularly the public security and police departments, are shouldering a glorious and important mission. They must not fail to live up to the great expectations and trust of the party and the people. They must bestir themselves, energetically take action, display the spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death and of fighting successive battles, establish confidence, enhance the fighting will and render new meritorious services to the development and stability of our region with an attitude of holding themselves highly responsible to the Party and the people.

Comrades, this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" is a nation-wide gigantic and vigorous campaign arranged in a unified manner by the central authorities and is also an urgent and important political task to safeguard the social stability of our region, to ensure a more rapid economic development of our region, and to ensure that the people work and live in peace and contentment in our region. Let us, under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin as its core and in accordance with the arrangement of the regional Party committee and government, really make this struggle to "severely crack down on crimes" impressive and powerful, produce actual results and lay a solid foundation for long-term stability in Tibet.

Document 2: Extract from CPPCC Briefing Paper, 18 May 1996

This is a briefing account, from the 14th briefing, 4th session of the 6th CPPCC of the TAR, published by the secretariat of the session on 18 May 1996. It illustrates particular concern about separatism, pornography and gambling. [TIN Ref 26(VE)]

On the 17 and 18 May, the members of the CPPCC of the TAR held lively discussions in their groups about the Ninth Five Year Plan and about the objectives of the struggle up to the year 2010. They spoke one after another about their ideas of our future work with great enthusiasm.

Strike Hard the forces of splittism

and serious criminal cases

Namgyal, a member of the National CPPCC, pointed out that if one wished to achieve the objectives of the "principal points", then the leadership at all levels should not only talk about their importance but must also act accordingly, must have the right attitude of saying and doing the same things, must keep in close touch

with the masses, must investigate the true facts, and carry out these good traditions well. In the struggle against separatism, the Public Security Departments alone are not effective; we must be determined to use all our efforts to dig out all those anti-revolutionary separatists' underground organisations and only then can we Strike Hard the international anti-China force

and the Dalai clique.

Members Drubkhang Thubten Khaidrup, Phurte, etc, said that even though the Dalai clique had lost the struggle many times, they still have not surrendered and are carrying out terrorism in the region. There have been continuous explosions, damaging Tibet's stability, and the masses were very upset about this. The Public Security and Law Departments at every level should Strike Hard to punish these criminal cases and protect well the property of the masses. They must strike relentless blows at those who sabotage public order and commit serious crimes. At the same time they must improve the efficiency of striking hard, gather intelligence about the evil

doings of the Dalai clique and strike terrorism hard in accordance with the law.

All the members who participated in the meeting were very much concerned about the current social situation, especially about disgusting things that occur in our society. In some video show places in Lhasa, they play pornographic tapes in broad daylight, and gambling has gone underground.

The quantity of construction projects must be controlled.

Member Tselo said that we should control the quantity of construction projects and ascertain the responsibilities of those people who were in charge who caused financial losses to certain departments due to their poor quality of work,

and must get them to compensate those victims to protect their interests. At the same time, we must be careful not to waste the funds of the State.

We must consolidate the market and protect the consumers' interests and rights.

Member Phurte pointed out that at present the market has an influx of poor quality and fake commodities; even the weights and measures are fraudulent so that the broad consumers are suffering losses. Because of this sort of thing, it is necessary for the relevant administrative departments to punish those who produce or sell poor quality or fake commodities, to protect the rights and interests of the broad consumers.

Document 3: Public Notice, dated 20 May 1996

On 22 May, this public notice was issued by the TAR Higher People's Court, the TAR People's Procuratorate, the TAR Public Security Department and the TAR Judicial Department. This notice emphasised that all offices, institutions, schools and enterprises had an obligation and responsibility to take part in the crackdown. It gave a deadline of 30 June for law offenders to surrender and admit their crimes. Those who took the initiative to frankly confess and to "report and expose the crimes of other law offenders with good results" would have their punishments reduced or would be exempt. Those not surrendering would be punished "in a more severe and prompt manner". It was broadcast by the Tibet People's Broadcasting Station, Lhasa, in Standard Chinese, at 1400 gmt on 22 May 1996.

Text of public notice issued by the TAR Higher People's Court, the TAR People's Procuratorate, the TAR Public Security Department and the TAR Judicial Department

At present, we can see a situation of social stability, economic development and strong frontier defence in the autonomous region. The masses are living and working in peace and contentment.

However, factors of instability still exist in the autonomous region. A small number of separatists have engaged in violent activities such as blowing things up [*bao zha*]. Various criminal activities are still rampant, including major and serious crimes such as using and trafficking in narcotics, producing and peddling pornographic items, prostitution and gambling, and those ugly social evils still exist despite repeated efforts to wipe them out. In particular, while the whole country is launching a serious struggle against crimes, a small number of law offenders have continued to commit crimes and have seriously disrupted social stability and people's normal life in the autonomous region.

In order to maintain normal public order in society and guarantee the safety of people's lives and property and solve the current conspicuous public security problems in the autonomous region, a struggle to resolutely fight against

splittism and sabotage activities and serious criminal activities has been launched throughout the autonomous region in accordance with the guidelines of the Party Central Committee, the regional Party Committee and the regional government on launching a serious struggle against crimes. The following is a public notice:

1. The current struggle to seriously crack down on crimes is launched under the direct leadership of Party committees and governments at various levels and by relying on people of various nationalities in the autonomous region.

We have promptly solved a number of major cases, detained a number of law offenders, destroyed a number of criminal groups and arrested a number of important criminals. We have resolutely suppressed the arrogant style of law offenders and effectively maintained normal public order in society. Our main tasks are to resolutely crack down on cases of explosion and assassination committed by separatists; various sabotage activities such as beating, smashing and looting; murder, robbery, rape and other serious

violent crimes; stealing, manufacturing, peddling and illegal holding of firearms and ammunitions and explosives; theft; hooligans, thugs and sinister underground gangs; and other serious crimes.

We should firmly crack down on prostitution and visiting prostitutes, producing and peddling pornographic items, using and trafficking in drugs, sponsoring gambling and other ugly things in society. We should make great efforts to improve those public security problems which are strongly hated by the masses.

2. All offices, institutions, schools, enterprises and other undertakings, neighbourhoods and mass organisations have the obligation and responsibility to plunge themselves into the struggle to seriously crack down on crimes.

They should voluntarily provide clues and proofs of crimes to public security and judicial organisations, make reports on and expose the crimes of law offenders and assist public security organisations in investigating and solving criminal cases. We should vigorously commend and award those who have made outstanding achievements in helping public security

organisations solve criminal cases and those units and individuals who have made important reports to the law-enforcement authorities. We should seriously crack down on those who retaliate against people who have reported crimes. We should effectively protect the lives and properties of those who make reports on crimes.

3. Those who admit their crimes and surrender themselves to law-enforcement authorities are never too late to mend their ways. All law offenders must stop doing evil things and surrender themselves to local public security or judicial organisations before 30 June. Towards those who

take the initiative to frankly confess their wrongdoings and report and expose the crimes of other law offenders with good results, we should reduce or exempt punishments for them in accordance with the law. After the publication of this public notice, those who refuse to surrender themselves to the law-enforcement authorities, run away or even continue to commit crimes will be punished in a more severe and prompt manner when they are apprehended and be punished in a relentless manner. Those who connive at crimes and protect and hide criminals will be punished together with criminals.

4. The political and judicial organisations shoulder the sacred responsibility and duty of safeguarding the people, striking at the enemies and protecting the dignity of law. The broad masses of people are encouraged to make reports on violations of law in the course of handling various criminal cases so as to ensure the healthy implementation of the struggle to seriously crack down on crime.

5. This public notice will become effective on the day of promulgation.

20 May 1996

2. Implementation and initial results of the campaign

During the early stages of the campaign, there were a number of press reports about mass sentencing rallies and about the crimes of people who had been sentenced to death. By the end of 1996, 29 people, including at least 18 Tibetans, had been listed in official sources as having been executed for crimes including murder, rape, drug trafficking and theft. In May, five Tibetans in Shigatse received sentences of up to five years in prison for calling for Tibetan independence; this was the first official admission of a political trial in Tibet for nearly two years.

Emphasis was placed during the campaign on the speedy processing of

cases. Bai Zhao, President of the TAR Higher People's Court, in an article published in the Tibet Daily of 17 June 1996, stated that in one major case in Shigatse, the verdicts were reviewed and executions carried out within 10 days of the original verdict being given. Bai Zhao also indicated that the intensity of the struggle must be increased and that severe punishments and death sentences must be given to those who deserved them.

The "Report on the Work of the TAR Higher People's Court" for 1996 perhaps gives the best overview of the Strike Hard campaign during that year. While this is an overall report about court work during the year, the first item dealt with is the

Strike Hard campaign struggle. The report states that in 1996, 2126 criminal cases were handled (this was an increase of 31 per cent on the previous year), and that among the convicts, just over 60 per cent were sentenced to more than five years' imprisonment, life imprisonment or death (death sentence with reprieve). Among first-trial cases, 47 cases involving 98 persons concerned "crimes endangering national security"⁹. During 1996, only 0.43 per cent of persons charged in first trial criminal cases were declared not guilty. The figure for the five years 1992-7 was 0.73 per cent (see the Chronology).

Document 4: Article from Tibet Daily, 18 July 1996

This article reports on measures taken by Tibet University relating to social stability and public security guard work [TIN Ref N96JL18B]

Tibet University issues new measures to strengthen stability and public order
Ride the Strike Hard campaign east wind; Restore campus order

In order to actively co-operate with the current national and regional Strike Hard campaign struggle, and to make a severe attack on the sabotage activities of split-tists and all types of criminals, the Tibet University Party Committee formally issued new measures on enhancing social stability [*jushi wending*] and on public

security guard work a few days ago.

* fully recognise the importance of enhancing stability in the University and public security guard work. The University must accord with the requirements of the regional Party Committee and grasp stability and public security as their own, year round, political responsi-

bilities, which cannot be neglected in the slightest, and carry them out in deeds and not in words. The broad masses of teachers, students, administrative personnel and workers should take positive action and participate in the Strike Hard campaign struggle; they should conscientiously disseminate and

⁹The term adopted in the amended Criminal Law, in force as of 1 October 1997, in place of "counter-revolutionary"

study the Strike Hard campaign announcements, reveal and report clues about crimes, increase their vigilance, take strict precautions against criminals committing crimes or concealing themselves on campus, and on discovering any suspicious situation they should promptly report it.

- * in the light of the new characteristics and new trends of the splittist activities and sabotage of the Dalai clique, launch a diametrically opposed anti-splittist struggle. We must go a step further in mobilising teachers, students, administrative personnel and workers to expose Dalai and to understand clearly how the Dalai clique uses the hats of 'peace' and 'religion' while engaging in activities to split the motherland and to bring disaster on Tibet and religion.

- * fully bring into play the role of public security [zhi bao zuzhi] organisations at all levels. We must enrich and strengthen public security organisations at all levels. Public security organisations at all levels

should have an administrative leading cadre as their head. Public security organisations must conscientiously, responsibly and creatively develop their work in the light of their tasks and responsibilities. Highly flammable, explosive and acutely poisonous materials in the campus store should be taken care of by specially appointed personnel. The leading persons responsible for these materials should check them as the occasion demands. Every unit and every department must carry out well their work of guarding against accidents of poisoning, explosion, sabotage, fire and disaster.

- * enhance the campus guard team responsibility system. When the campus guard team are on patrol, they should fulfil their duties conscientiously, paying attention to patrolling every crucial place, and check the temporary residence situation of all external visitors both regularly and at random intervals.

At the same time, strengthen the work of guarding the gates. The personnel

guarding the gates should carry out their duties earnestly and conscientiously, and should rigorously examine the papers of personnel from outside, who may be admitted after registration on the basis of their having valid papers. All teachers, students, administrative personnel and workers should increase their vigilance, strictly guard against all types of sabotage by splittists, and on discovering any suspicious circumstances or illegal possession of guns or ammunition should immediately report them.

These measures of the Tibet University Party Committee have gone a step further in strengthening the courage of teachers, students, administrative personnel and workers in struggling against criminal elements. They have also had a positive role in making everybody concerned with security on campus, and making everybody support the safeguarding of stability on campus.

Document 5: Article from Tibet Daily, 10 September 1996

This article describes the statement made by the deputy director of the TAR High Court at a press conference on 9 September. Several death sentences were announced at this press conference and were seen as heralding the start of the third Strike Hard campaign in the TAR [TIN Ref N96se10a]

Leaders of the TAR High Court circulate a notice to reporters on the success of the first two Strike Hard campaigns and on the plan for the third campaign

On 9 September, the TAR Government News Office held a press conference in which the deputy director of the TAR High Court, Mr. Pei Xiandian, announced: "A group of criminals sentenced to death, whom without killing we cannot submit to the people's wishes, accord with the hearts of the people and calm their anger, are to be executed in areas including Shannan, Rikeze, Naqu, Linzhi, Lhasa and Ali. This verdict symbolises the sound of the bugle call, the opening of the prelude to the third Strike Hard campaign in our region.

Of the death penalty cases made public at the press conference, among seven criminals in five typical cases, some had committed murder for money because they desired riches. For example, the criminals Chen Shaode, Jing Jianguo and Miao Dengfu found out that Chen Hui, the victim, was going to the interior with a large amount of money to purchase goods. They then planned to kill him and steal the money. On 21 April of this year, the four criminals [sic] followed the victim into the Gongge Airport hotel. When he had fallen asleep, after they had fiercely beaten him to death with fists and stones, they threw

his corpse into the river and ran off with 140,300 yuan in cash.

Others among these seven criminals are thugs by nature, brutal, who enjoy stirring up trouble and do not hesitate to kill innocent people. For example, one day, Gesang Ciwang, who was sentenced to death, and his accomplices, Basang, Dawa Zhaxi and Ciren Duobuji, encountered three brothers, Deng Jianqiang, Deng Xuguang and Deng Xubing, who had just come to Lhasa from the interior. The criminal Ciren Duobuji picked up a broken beer bottle and poked it towards his right eye, with the result that Deng Xuguang's right eyeball was split and he completely lost the sight in it. The criminal Gesang Ciwang took out his knife and stabbed Deng Jianqiang five times in the ribs behind his left armpit, resulting in his immediate death.

There are others who are ignorant and backward, and to flaunt their superiority and acting rashly, they commit murder with a knife as a result of trivial things. The criminal Suolang Yangpei was drinking with Mudi and others at a friend's home, and because he did not like a song

which Mudi was singing, a dispute occurred. When the others were not there, the criminal Suolang Yangpei took out a pocket knife which he carried on his person, and stabbed the victim Mudi sixteen times in the head, the back, the left shoulder and other places, resulting in his death. Apart from this, there was the case of intentional murder and theft by Lapu Ciren and Gesang Ciwang; and the case of intentional murder by Luosang Danzeng. All of these people either walked in danger for the sake of money or defied the law because of a dispute. Without killing these people there is no way to warn ordinary people, to educate and to redeem [wanjia] people who flout the legal system and who lack reason.

Pei Xiandian said that we must, on the basis of the successes of the first two Strike Hard campaigns, make painstaking organisation for the third campaign. In relation to those criminal activities which seriously damage social order, including murder, rape, explosions, large-scale theft, major physical assault, committing crimes in defiance of the Strike Hard wind [ding feng zuo an], fleeing after committing

crimes [*fu an zai tao*], grouping together as secret societies and thugs stirring up

trouble, we should always uphold the high position of Strike Hard, and not give

criminals a moment's break.

Document 6: Article from Tibet Daily, 10 September 1996

This newspaper article deals with the sentencing of ten criminals in Lhasa. Eight of the nine who are named are apparently Tibetan [TIN Ref N96se10b].

The Municipal court in Lhasa holds a public sentencing meeting

Sentencing of 10 criminals in 9 cases

On 9 September, the Chengguan district people's court, Lhasa municipality, in Zhongjiaolukang, publicly pronounced judgement on ten thieves and swindlers in nine cases, including Jiayang Pingcuo and Lawang Ciren. They were respectively given jail sentences ranging from 6 to 15 years.

Theiving and swindling, where there is gain without labour, have always been deeply and bitterly hated by the broad masses of the people. In accordance with the guiding principle of "always heavy, always quick" [*cong zhong cong kuai*], the Chengguan district people's court vigorously launched a Strike Hard [campaign] in order to ensure that the legal property of collectives, the public and individuals is not illegally encroached upon.

Among the ten criminals publicly sentenced on 9 September, some had disregarded the law and in collusion with others, on several occasions and in several places in Lhasa city, had wantonly carried out thefts on an especially large scale. For instance, between September 1995 and January 1996, the criminal Jiayang Pingcuo, collaborating one after another with Juejie, Awang Xire, Kasong Wangdai, Luge and Hebu Langjie, engaged in stealing from more than ten units including Tibet University, the Municipal Third Middle School, the printing factory, the Third Construction Company and the district education committee, and in selling the stolen goods. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Among the ten criminals, some had

secretly stolen other people's property, and were punished severely under the national law. For instance, criminal Tu Benqiang stole a camera worth 12,000 yuan from a wine shop manager, and hid it in the ceiling of that shop. But in view of the fact that after this happened, he voluntarily went to the public security bureau and gave himself up, he was given a light sentence of ten years in prison. Another was a swindler who faked a cheque worth five million yuan and a five million yuan deposit book and then tricked other people out of more than 25,000 yuan. He was given ten years in prison.

Thousands of people attended yesterday's public sentencing meeting, and all clapped their hands with satisfaction at the sentences.

Document 7: Article from Tibet Daily, 24 September 1996

This article describes implementation of the Strike Hard campaign in Linzhi county since it was launched in the middle of May. 35 people were prosecuted during this time and 13 criminal cases solved, according to the article, which also sets out the key areas of focus and the practical steps which were taken. [TIN Ref N96se24c]

Meticulous planning; Attack and prevention combined; Uniting and working together Strike Hard campaign work in Linzhi county deeply touches the people's hearts

In the past few days, reports of success have been sent from Linzhi county. Since the middle of May, the Public Security Bureau in that county has solved 13 criminal cases and arrested a number of criminals; this included the cracking of criminal gangs and the solving of nine important cases. Thirty-five criminals have been prosecuted by the county procuratorate, and thirty-six have been punished according to the law, which has been applauded by the broad masses of the people and cadres.

Strengthened leadership, meticulous planning

On 10 May, the evening before the organisation of unified Strike Hard actions in the area, Linzhi county set up a Strike Hard small leadership group. Special funds were drawn upon, and a plan was formulated for Strike Hard action. Five

action units were despatched to rural areas and to institutions subordinate to the county; they organised mass rallies, and carried out over five hundred interviews to encourage the masses to provide clues about criminal cases. They also put up two hundred and ten posters with slogans in urban and rural areas. The county Party secretary assigned to the campaign has also given speeches about the Strike Hard campaign on local TV and radio, so that the responsibilities and policies of the Strike Hard campaign work are known to every household.

Emphasising the key points, attack and prevention combined

Based on the guiding spirit of the Party Committee and the Government at higher levels, in combination with the situation in this county, in Linzhi county's Strike Hard campaign, emphasis was placed on four

key areas:

1. Criminals who engage in splittist activities;
2. Criminals who murder others or who injure others with the result that they die;
3. Thieves; and
4. Criminals who spread pornography, gambling and prostitution.

During the course of the campaign, the county combined three things:

1. Combining the launch of the special Strike Hard struggle with the comprehensive management of public order. In the last 10 days of July, the county sent a work team to comprehensively investigate and ascertain the overall security responsibility system in the countryside;
2. Combining the Strike Hard campaign with establishing regulations and systems to help countryside and official units to establish and perfect internal protection

systems [*neibao zhidu*], security adjustment systems [*zhi'an tiaojie zhidu*], firearms supervision systems and systems for supervision of personnel from outside the county and so on; and

3. Combining the education of the masses with attacking criminals, by holding lectures on law and legal knowledge competitions, and by means of holding public arrest and public sentencing meetings.

The county also paid attention to the strengthening of rectification work in the monasteries. It sent two work teams to concentrate their efforts at Demu monastery and Labalin monastery; they carried out Patriotic Education of the monks and nuns by methods including

heart-to-heart talks and explaining and publicising the Party's religious policies. Very good results have been obtained.

Uniting and working together, speeding up the process of accusation and trial

During the Strike Hard campaign, all public procuratorial and legal cadres and police have manifested a great sense of political responsibility and an excellent spirit of co-operation. The leadership has taken the lead in setting an example [*chui fan*], handling cases themselves, and cadres and police were devoted to their duty and courageously made sacrifices. When investigating and solving important cases, the procuratorate and the judiciary

became involved early on, which gained time, and ensured the harmonious and smooth implementation of the work of investigating, solving, and carrying out group arrests and trials. For instance, in one day, 12 June, the county procuratorate investigated and prosecuted 26 people in 17 cases, and in the first ten days of August, the county law courts set up temporary trial rooms in Bayi and in the county township [*xianchang*]. They worked day and night, and tried and determined 13 cases involving 21 people. Both the cadres and the masses with one voice praised them as a team who were really able to carry out the struggle.

Document 8: Court Work Report presented to TAR People's Congress, 20 May 1997

This is an extract from the "Report on the Work of the TAR Higher People's Court", delivered by Bai Zhao, president of the TAR Higher People's Court, at the 5th session of the 6th TAR People's Congress on 20 May 1997. Court President Bai Zhao states that "sabotages conducted by splittists" were the focus of the 1996 security crackdown in Tibet. He also says that Tibet's law courts had sent nearly 300 cadres and police to improve the running of lamaseries, to solve problems in aiding the poor and to set up checkpoints to intercept criminals. The report was published in the Tibet Daily in Chinese on 3 June 1997.

Report on the Work of the TAR Higher People's Court [extract]

Deputies:

Now, I submit a report on the work done by law courts throughout Tibet in 1996 and the major tasks for 1997 to the session. Please examine and discuss it. Members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference [CPPCC] are also invited to offer opinions.

In 1996, under the leadership of Party committees and under the supervision of people's congresses, law courts at all levels in Tibet revolved attention closely around the overall situation of "one centre, two important events, and three guarantees", and conducted adjudication work in an all-round way in accordance with the overall scheme drawn up by the 17th national work conference of law courts and with a mentality which treated the serving of economic construction as the major point, serious law enforcement as the central task, the reform of the judicial method as the driving force, the building of a contingent of personnel as the basis, and the building of material [civilisation] as the guarantee. In the whole year, they handled a total of 5,468 cases and closed 4,900 cases after trials, posting a record growth rate of 23.82 and 20.6 per cent respectively over those of the previous years. Of all the cases handled, 20 per cent, or 1,093 cases, were public prosecutions initiated by procura-

torial organs and 80 per cent, or 4,375 cases, were handled by law courts themselves. Through conducting court trials, law courts played an active role in and made new contributions to maintaining social stability, guaranteeing reform and opening up, and promoting economic construction in Tibet.

1. Concentrate efforts on launching the "Strike Hard" struggle and make an all-out effort to maintain social stability

In 1996, we resolutely implemented the important decision made by the Party Central Committee and the regional Party committee on co-ordinating actions in a unified way in launching the Strike Hard struggle, brought into full play the functions of criminal adjudication, concentrated efforts on launching the struggle, and achieved a momentum in launching this campaign, and produced results. In one year, we handled a total of 2,126 various criminal cases and closed 1,853 cases after trials, up 31.23 and 20 per cent respectively from the previous year. Among them 1,127 cases were closed at the first trial; 277 cases were closed at the second trial; and abatement from penalty and release on parole were handed down in 722 cases. Among the first-trial cases, 47 cases involving 98

persons concerned crimes that endangered national security; 886 cases involving 1,578 persons concerned crimes such as intentional homicide, robbery, rape, deliberately causing injuries to others, and major theft which caused serious danger and harm to public security; and 44 cases involving 50 persons concerned such crimes as graft, taking bribes, and embezzling public funds committed by state functionaries. The handling of these cases recovered economic losses to the sum of 78.0281 million yuan for the state and collectives. Among the convicts, 60.8 per cent were sentenced to more than five years' imprisonment, or life imprisonment, or death (death sentence with reprieve); 37.34 per cent were sentenced to less than five years' imprisonment (including reprieve), punishment of control, and detention; 1.36 per cent were exempt from punishment; and 0.43 per cent were declared not guilty. Our major practices during the "Strike Hard" campaign were:

1. We improved understanding, sought unity of thinking, and made an all-out effort in committing ourselves to the Strike Hard struggle. After the Party Central Committee and the regional Party committee had made the important decision on co-ordinating actions in a

unified way in launching the struggle, we carried it out with the power of a thunderbolt and the speed of lightning; held meetings; and issued circulars, calling on the vast numbers of cadres and police to understand the importance, necessity, and urgency of the struggle and to seek unity of thinking about the important decisions of the Party Central Committee and the regional Party committee in terms of the importance of maintaining the unification of the motherland and crushing the splittist activities and sabotage conducted by the Dalai clique; in terms of the importance of intensifying reform, opening up wider to the outside world, promoting development, and maintaining stability; in terms of the importance of improving the order of public security and taking into consideration the will of the people; and in terms of the importance of developing and building Tibet and fulfilling the ambitious blueprint for this century and the next. We urged cadres and the police to carry out their assignments earnestly, to live up to the trust placed in them, to treat the "Strike Hard" struggle as a political task, and to strive to produce results in this campaign with full political enthusiasm and with an exalted fighting posture.

2. We strengthened leadership, made well-considered arrangements, and carefully organised the Strike Hard struggle. As soon as the struggle started, law courts at all levels in Tibet set up leading organs quickly, drew up plans for the struggle, assembled forces for launching the crackdown, and clearly defined the tasks and requirements. The higher people's court mobilised four times successively to draw up plans for work related to the crackdown. During the period of the "Strike Hard" struggle, the vast numbers of cadres and police conducted consecutive operations with a sense of political responsibility, decided on tasks, set a time limit, and worked overtime to guarantee that serious cases which had been committed in defiance of the crackdown, had had a tremendous impact on the society, and had been followed with interest by the masses were tried quickly, and had their judgements pronounced and implemented quickly. The Lhasa City Intermediate People's Court took the lead in holding a public trial on 10 May. It was the prelude to the crackdown to be launched throughout Tibet. After that, law courts at all levels in Tibet closed over 90 per cent of all the cases handled in every operation launched during the "Strike

Hard" struggle, and, furthermore, closed all the 739 cases involving 1,286 persons who had been prosecuted as a result of the campaign.

3. We stressed major points of the crackdown, and sternly and quickly punished various criminals according to law. The sabotages conducted by splittists and their crimes posing a serious danger and harm to public security were the major points of the crackdown launched in Tibet. Among the Strike Hard cases which had been closed after trials, 24 cases involving 75 persons concerned crimes that caused danger and harm to national security, accounting for 3.25 and 5.8 per cent respectively of the total number of cases closed; and 680 cases involving 1,173 persons concerned crimes that caused danger and harm to public security, accounting for 92.02 and 91.21 per cent respectively of the total number of cases closed.

- We resolutely meted out stern punishment to criminals conducting splittist activities and causing danger and harm to national security according to law. For example, 14 criminals, including Bulu [name as transliterated] of the Ganden Lamasery in Lhasa City, incited monks of the temple to shout reactionary slogans, organised an illegal demonstration, smashed police stations of public security organs, beat up state personnel, and stubbornly followed the Dalai clique in a vain attempt to split the motherland. To deal with them, the Lhasa City Intermediate People's Court assembled principal judges to try and close the case quickly, thereby dealing a harsh blow to the swollen arrogance of splittists.

- We resolutely meted out a stern sentence to those whose guilt deserved such a sentence, and absolutely would not be soft-hearted in meting out a death sentence to those whose guilt deserved such a sentence. For example, in the cases of homicide and robbery committed by Suolang Quzhen [name as transliterated] and Zasang [name as transliterated] in Lhasa, by Danzim and Dunzhu [names as transliterated] in Tingri County, Shigatse [prefecture], and by Chen Shaode, Gou Jianguo, and Liao Dengfu at the Gongkar Airport in Lhokha [prefecture], the criminals were reckless, did all kinds of evil, were guilty of the most heinous crimes, and were a scourge to local people. We resolutely sentenced them to death according to law and, after that, all walks of life clapped their hands for joy.

- We dealt a harsh blow to such crimes as graft, bribery, embezzlement of public

funds, and disrupting the economic order. We conscientiously implemented the guidelines of the instructions given by the central authorities on intensifying the anticorruption drive, resolutely carried out the policy of meting out a stern punishment according to law, and further improved our trials of major cases of economic crimes. We persisted in meting out punishments which were in keeping with the crimes committed by economic criminals among leading bodies of the Party and government, administrative organs in charge of law enforcement, and judicial organs, thus punishing those who were guilty of corruption steadily, correctly, and harshly. Meanwhile, we also dealt a harsh blow to such crimes as jeopardising reform and opening up, harming national interests, and seriously disrupting the economic order. For example, the Gaodalu [name as transliterated] Company used a forged document of approval to import commodities in the name of donations, and marketed them in the interior part of China to reap sudden, huge profits. While investigating the case and affixing the criminal liability of the personnel who were directly responsible, we applied property penalties [cai chan xing] to legal persons and recovered economic losses in the sum of 37.58m yuan for the state.

4. We persisted in enforcing the law strictly, and ensured the quality of the handling of cases. While waging the "Strike Hard" struggle, law courts at all levels in Tibet persisted in being aware of "cases borne out by ironclad evidence"; strictly adhered to the principle of "two basics"; checked on the "five standards" of facts, evidence, determination of the nature of an offence, measurement of penalty, and procedures in handling a case so as not to connive with criminals or wrong innocent people with false charges; and strengthened leadership as well as supervision. We required the higher level to supervise their immediate subordinate level; combined points with areas; and paid equal attention to both minor and major cases. While making overall arrangements, we supervised and checked on major points. The regional higher people's court alone dispatched 158 persons in 41 work teams to seven prefectural (city) intermediate people's courts and grass-roots law courts, covering a distance of 110,000 km, to provide better guidance for court trials and to check up on the quality of the handling of cases. They conducted supervision over court trials, returned cases which ought to be

retrieved for retrial, changed the court judgements which ought to be changed on some cases according to law, implemented the policy on laws strictly, tempered harshness with leniency, and reduced penalties according to law in cases which indeed deserved a legal abatement of punishment.

5. We organised the co-ordination of actions in a unified way, and expanded the social effect of the "Strike Hard" struggle. From the launching of the struggle until now, law courts at all levels in Tibet have

acted in unison, co-ordinated their actions, and always maintained a lofty posture during the crackdown. While co-ordinating actions in this campaign, law courts at all levels chose typical cases and held public trials to explain the laws. Last year, law courts throughout Tibet held a total of 76 public trials which were attended by 370,000 people as observers. Meanwhile, they made full use of the instrument of propaganda and public opinion to make "Strike Hard" announcements, and held six news conferences to announce the results of the handling and

trials of major cases. The Xigaze [Prefectural] Intermediate People's Court produced a film on the special topic of the legal system by recording the actual situation of public trials, distributed them to various counties, and organised cadres and the masses to view them. These deterred crimes effectively, educated and encouraged the masses, and aroused the enthusiasm and consciousness of the broad masses of the people to wage a struggle against criminals.

3. Further Actions

The Strike Hard campaign, initially meant to be a three month drive against sabotage and other serious crimes, should have ended at the start of August 1996. However, the three month campaign was in fact extended throughout China. On 5 August, the authorities in Tibet announced an extension to the campaign, and called for a stepping up of the fight against "the separatists' splitlist and sabotage activities". Executive deputy secretary Ragdi said: "In particular, greater efforts must be made to improve the work of clearing up and straightening out our lamaseries". An article in the Tibet Daily a few days later commented that the Strike Hard struggle must not stop, but must continue in a "deep-going and persistent way". During September, further press reports of execu-

tions of criminals appeared.

On 29 October 1996, Li Xianwen (Lhasa's deputy director of public security), announced at a mobilisation meeting in Lhasa that, in order to ensure security in Lhasa during the three major festivals (ie. Chinese New Year, Tibetan New Year, and Monlam Chenmo - until February 1997), further specially targeted Strike Hard struggles would be launched during the next month. He also referred to "another upsurge in the Strike Hard struggle", indicating that this was now an ongoing struggle rather than a discrete campaign. In fact, on 18 December 1996, Ren Jianxin, the president of China's Supreme People's Court, said that because the campaign had been successful, it might be continued throughout 1997. On 12 December, a Strike Hard Winter Action

was launched in Lhasa and counties under its jurisdiction; similar actions were launched in other Tibetan areas, including Nagchu Prefecture on 26 December. Press reports indicate that Lhasa also launched a specific action against pornography and "evil doing" in January 1997, a spring and summer Strike Hard campaign on 10 April 1997, and a special winter Strike Hard campaign on 4 November. Tsultrim, Secretary of the Commission for Comprehensive Management of Public Security of the TAR Party Committee, suggested that special campaigns should be launched to deal with specific problems, which is a further indication that the Strike Hard campaign is now viewed as a continuing struggle.

Document 9: Article published in the Tibet Daily, 4 January 1997

[TIN Ref N97ja04c]

Consolidate the achievements of the Strike Hard campaign Take the Strike Hard campaign in deeper Comprehensive launching of the winter Strike Hard struggle in Nagchu Prefecture

On 26 December last year, Nagchu courts at prefectural [di] and county level combined and convened a public sentencing mass meeting in front of ten thousand people, declaring the comprehensive launching of the Strike Hard struggle to departments and committees at all levels in the prefecture.

The meeting carried out the public sentencing of 23 criminals involved in 12 cases, in accordance with the law. Deputy Secretary of the Prefectural Committee Li Qingbo pointed out that the public sentencing was a continuation and

deepening of 1996's Strike Hard struggle, and was also a mobilisation meeting for the winter Strike Hard campaign. He announced, to the more than ten thousand persons of all nationalities and social spheres who were listening, that the winter Strike Hard campaign in Nagchu prefecture would place emphasis on grasping the following work:

1. unequivocally continuing to make severe attacks on all types of sabotage carried out by splitlists;
2. punishing with severity such criminal activities as murder, wounding, and

robbery; and

3. further strengthening all types of measures for the overall management of public security, getting rid of pressing troubles, and consolidating the achievements of the Strike Hard campaign.

Prior to this, Nagchu prefecture had convened a special working conference on the winter Strike Hard campaign, in order to make a unified plan of action for the next phase of the campaign. The conference asked Party committees and government offices at all levels to continue to strengthen their leadership of

the Strike Hard struggle and of the work of overall management of public security, to work hard to build a high quality

political and legal team, to carry out well the work of defending security during the three big festivals, to make strict and

severe attacks on every kind of illegal criminal activity, to increase the feeling of security of the broad masses and to

Document 10: Article published in the Tibet Daily, 9 January 1997

[TIN Ref N97ja09d]

Lhasa launches "Eliminate pornography and strike at evil-doing" winter action [sao huang da fei dong ji xingdong]

Units from Lhasa public security, industry and commerce, cultural, tax, fire control and other [bureaus] have united to form the 'eliminate pornography and strike at evil-doing' winter action special struggle group, and launched their first action on the evening of 6 January. Eight action groups in the east, west, south and north of Lhasa sprang up [*kai hua*] at the same time, and carried out a full-scale check on 128 video screening locations and video tape rental shops. This began the prelude to Lhasa's 'eliminate pornography and strike at evil-doing' winter action.

The principal content of this 'eliminate pornography and strike at evil-doing' winter action is to put in order and rectify the cultural and audio-visual market and public places of entertainment, to collect up illegal audio-visual products and publications, to investigate and deal with the illegal manufacture of and dealing in audio-visual and printed publications and to ban prostitution and other repulsive social phenomena, in order to provide a healthy and refined cultural environment

and places of entertainment for the people of the whole city.

The action received a great deal of attention from the Lhasa Party Committee and municipal government, who required that the relevant departments should grasp it as an important campaign to be completed in the construction of Spiritual Civilisation in the whole city. In order to conscientiously and effectively launch the 'eliminate pornography and strike at evil-doing' winter action, Lhasa convened several meetings to study and to plan. Moreover, they established an 'eliminate pornography and strike at evil-doing' winter action special struggle leading group, consisting of Lhasa Party committee deputy secretary Hou Jianguo as its head, deputy mayor Deji Zhuoga as deputy head, and principal leading personnel from the municipal culture bureau, public security bureau, tax bureau, industry and commerce bureau and the city public security fire control detachment, to take particular responsibility for all items of work in this

'eliminate pornography and strike at evil-doing' winter action.

It is reported that this year's 'eliminate pornography and strike at evil-doing' winter action has been divided into two stages. A full-scale clearing up and rectification will be carried out in relation to Lhasa's places of public entertainment and in relation to the sound, recordings and publications market.

The 'eliminate pornography and strike at evil-doing' winter action on 6 January reported a victory at the beginning of the battle. 8 action groups hunted down and seized 207 pornographic and obscene video tapes and 87 pornographic and obscene VCD discs. Three 'mermaid cosmetics' [*mei ren yu hua zhuang pin*] video rental shops and other video rental shops which rented out pornographic audio-visual materials have been closed down. Currently, further investigations are being made into those shops illegally hiring out pornographic audio-visual products.

Document 11: Article published in the Tibet Daily, 14 January 1997

[TIN Ref N97ja14a]

Enforce the law strictly; Vigorously handle cases; Work hard and strengthen procuratorial work
Procuratorial work in our region has achieved rapid development

(Tibet Daily correspondent) This reporter has learned from the Fourth TAR Procuratorial Work Conference that, last year, under the leadership of Party committees at all levels and of the higher procuratorate, under the supervision of the [TAR] People's Congress and with the assistance of the government and the relevant departments, the procuratorial organs in our region have conscientiously upheld the Party's basic line and resolutely implemented the procuratorial work guiding policy of "strictly enforce the law and deal with cases vigorously." Procuratorial work has achieved gratifying results, and has made an important contribution to safeguarding stability, ensuring reform and promoting development.

Striking, according to law, the small

number of splittists and serious criminals has obtained notable achievements, thus maintaining social and political stability in Tibet. Regional procuratorial organs are resolutely implementing the directives of the Central Party Committee and Regional Party Committee on opposing splittism and safeguarding stability in Tibet, always taking "striking hard" against splittists as the primary task, actively participating in the unified "Strike Hard" action, and have played the part of procuratorial organs fairly well. Last year, the procuratorial organs accepted and dealt with 1038 cases for investigation and arrest, relating to 1667 people, transferred by public security and national security organs. After examination, arrests were made in 968 cases of 1547 people, which is an increase of 22.53% and 15.8% respec-

tively on the previous year. They also accepted and dealt with 799 cases transferred for prosecution, relating to 1342 people. After examination, 714 cases relating to 1120 people were prosecuted, which was an increase of 34.6% and 26.6% respectively on the previous year.

Since May last year, the procuratorial organs in the region, according to the requirement to "solve big cases, chase fleeing criminals, strike at criminal gangs", have adhered to the guiding principle of [acting] heavily and speedily in reliance on the law, have highlighted the important points for attack, strengthened arrests and prosecution work, and rapidly arrested and prosecuted a group of criminals who had committed serious offences. Between May and November, they accepted and heard from

public security and national security organs 746 cases transferred for investigation and arrest relating to 1222 people, and after examination approved arrests in 711 cases of 1155 people, which constituted 73.45% and 74.66% respectively of the total arrests for the year. 592 cases transferred for prosecution, relating to 1031 people, were accepted and heard. After examination, prosecutions were made in 530 cases of 879 people, constituting 74.23% and 78.48% respectively of the total prosecution cases for the year. This has made a great contribution to social stability.

Concentrating resources to solve large and important cases has given impetus to the thorough development of the anti-corruption struggle. Procuratorial organs of all levels in the region, in strict accordance with the overall plan of the Party Central Committee, the regional Party Committee and the higher procuratorate for the thorough development of the anti-corruption struggle, have always taken opposing corruption and bribery as being a focal point of procuracy work, and at the same time have increased the dynamic [*jieda...de lidu*] of investigating and dealing with cases of dereliction of duty and "misuse of power", including practising favouritism, embezzlement, and neglecting one's duties. Branch (municipal) procuracies in Nyari, Lhasa,

Lhokha, Nagchu and the regional procuracy have all investigated and dealt with a number of large and influential cases, thus enabling the general public to really see the resolve and the actions of the Party and the state in punishing corruption. From January to December, the procuratorial organs accepted and dealt with 227 clues about financial cases [*jingji anjian xiansuo 227 jian*], and placed on file and investigated 66 cases involving 79 people. A number of cases directly endangering reform and causing a burning public outcry were investigated and dealt with, powerfully striking at the criminal activities of dereliction of duty and "misuse of power", obtaining the support and endorsement of the broad masses of the people and establishing the prestige of the procuratorial organs.

Conscientiously implementing the "Decision" amending the Criminal Procedure Law, and handling well the preparatory work before implementation. Early last year, after the higher procuratorate convened a telephone conference regarding the study and implementation of the "Decision" amending the Criminal Procedure Law, the Party group of the regional procuracy promptly drew up a plan for the study and implementation of the "Decision" [*jishi jiu xuexi he shishi "jueding" zuo le anpai buzhuo*]. All procuratorial organs developed profes-

sional training in which the amended Criminal Procedure Law was the main content, using various methods such as short-term training, training in rotation, lectures, meetings as replacement of training, contests of knowledge, law court trials for viewing and emulation etc. The regional procuracy and branch (municipal) procuracies also carried out pilot projects on the reformed trial procedure, with Nagchu branch being the first, followed by 5 branches (municipalities) throughout the region who began to carry out pilot projects relating to the reform. By means of grasping the study of the revised Criminal Procedure Law, and by the pilot projects on the reformed trial procedure, the vast majority of cadres and police have basically gained a clear idea of and grasped the amended content of the Criminal Procedure Law and the principles of implementation, laying a foundation for the Criminal Procedure Law after the full-scale implementation of reform.

Procuratorial organs throughout the region, on the foundation of conscientiously carrying out their task of legal supervision, have also made considerable achievements in legal policy research, the investigation and study of information, procuratorial propaganda work and construction of the ranks [*duiwu jianshe*].

Document 12: Article published in the Tibet Daily, 15 February 1997

[TIN Ref N97fe15b]

Strictly enforce the law; Deal with cases resolutely; Work hard to strengthen procuratorial work Regional procuratorial organs formulate tasks and objectives reaching into the next century

At the regional meeting on procuratorial work a few days ago, this reporter learned:

The regional procuratorial organs firmly support the policy of the Party's absolute leadership of procuratorial work, conscientiously implement the Party's basic theory, basic line and basic guiding principles and policies, and, in accordance with the plan of the regional Party committee and upper level procuratorial organs, develop all types of procuratorial work, in order to formulate new tasks and objectives reaching into the next century.

Regional procuratorial work tasks for 1997: Firmly encircle the overall work situation in Tibet with the "one centre, two big tasks, and three guarantees" [*jinyin weirao "yige zhongxin, liang jian da shi, sange quebao" zhege Xizang gongzuo dafu*], enforce the work principle of strict enforcement of the law and dealing with

cases resolutely, conscientiously carry out the duty of legal supervision, promptly and powerfully attack the small number of splittist elements and all types of serious criminal elements, with the principal duty being to protect social and political stability in Tibet, and with emphasis on the three tasks of punishing corruption, investigating and dealing with big and important cases and strengthening supervision by the law [*qianghua zhifa jiandu*]; fully develop all types of procuratorial work, strengthen the construction of Spiritual Civilisation in procuratorial organs, build up high quality procuratorial teams, in order to ensure reform, push forward development and protect stability, and to bring about a positive contribution to the "Ninth Five Year Plan" for economic and social development in our region and to the long term goals for the

year 2010.

Targets in procuratorial work: adapt to the requirements of the revised "Criminal Procedure Law", reform and perfect arrest and prosecution work, and ensure accurate, prompt and powerful attacks on criminals; set up highly efficient anti-crime mechanisms for work related crimes, including opposing corruption and bribery and investigating and dealing with favouritism and fraudulent practices; strengthen our capacity for investigation, management [*ban*] and prevention, the work of investigating and dealing with large and important cases must gradually go deeper and ceaselessly obtain evident results in stages [*jieduanxing*]; we must powerfully strengthen the firm supervision of placing cases on file for investigation and prosecution, of investigation, of bringing cases to trial and of enforcing

the law; we must strengthen construction of Spiritual Civilisation in procuratorial organs, and build up a high quality procuratorial team which is politically reliable, proficient in professional work, has high morals, is impartial in enforcing the law, is highly disciplined, and whose work style is really up to the mark, [so that] procuratorial work will take a further step towards perfection [jianquan]; we must powerfully improve the conditions of

procuratorial organs as regards material and technological equipment.

Up to the year 2010, we must attack and be on guard against splittists and all types of criminals and in addition promptly, powerfully and effectively safeguard social and political stability in the region; establish a complete investigation mechanism for state personnel who commit crimes in their work [jianli qi wanbei de guojia gongzuo ren yuan zhiwu

fanzui zhencha jizhi]; by means of powerful punishment and prevention, keep within limits the tendency of corruption, bribery and other crimes at work to multiply and spread; increase the completeness of the system of legal work supervision; set up a high quality team of procuratorial officials, ensure that mechanisms become more complete, and realise the regularisation and modernisation of procuratorial work.

Document 13: Article published in the Qinghai Legal News, Tibetan language edition, 5 April 1997

[TIN Ref q97ap05a]

The consolidation of the spring Strike Hard campaign

In our province, since the consolidating of last winter's Strike Hard campaign, we have achieved great success in public security departments' work at every level. Now we have started the consolidating of the Spring Strike Hard campaign. Furthermore, we are continuing to stabilise public security in society.

Since December 1996 to February this year, after having carried out the three month winter campaign [dgun dus bya 'gul], the Public Security Bureau branches at various levels in our province have successfully dealt with 800 major criminal cases, worth a total of over 4.47m RMB, through the confiscation of firearms and ammunitions and recovery of stolen goods. At the same time, the local areas have established their own Security

Forces [nyen rtog stobs shugs drags po rtsa 'dzugs] and launched a campaign to purify and consolidate the security contingent, as a result of which the incidence of criminal cases has dropped. Compared to the same period last year, during January and February this year, the incidence of criminal cases throughout the province has dropped by 20.2% and thus consolidated the "fruits" [bras bru] of the Strike Hard campaign.

Currently, since the beginning of spring, in accordance with the regulations announced by the Public Security Office of our province, efforts should be continued to maintain firm control over all prominent problems concerning social order in our province, and to deal with them firmly and courageously. We must

continue to Strike Hard against crime, and must constantly attach importance to dealing with major cases. In the areas of our province where there are "arms caches" and "poisonous substances", this will be rectified.

The Public Security Department of the province laid out the plan of action to the Public Security Offices, to carry out their supervisory duties effectively in accordance with the actual situation in their local area. We must perfect all types of different rules and regulations and combining striking with prevention and combining management with building up, we must promote public security work in an all round way.

by Pad Ga [pad dgas]

Document 14: Article published in the Tibet Daily, 15 April 1997

[TIN Ref N97ap15c]

Opening of the prelude to the spring and summer Strike Hard campaign in Lhasa

In order to co-ordinate with the integrated plan for the Public Security Department's national spring Strike Hard rectification [zhengzhi] operation, on the evening of 10 April, Lhasa Public Security Bureau concentrated its police strength and carried out a shock crime-solving operation against already well known criminal suspects and places where public order is in chaos in Lhasa city. Directly from this [zhici], the prelude began to the spring Strike Hard struggle in the Lhasa area.

When interviewed by reporters, the deputy head of the Autonomous Region's Public Security Department, Wang Huaisheng, said: "This operation is the continuation of last year's Strike Hard

struggle, and it is also a continued attack aimed at serious criminal offences which have gained ground in the Lhasa area during the last stage. At the same time, by means of this operation, we are taking a further step in carrying out a great examination of basic public security work over many years, which will certainly play a positive role in future basic public security work."

Late at night on the same day, reporters interviewed police from the Barkhor police station and Lhasa city police from a detachment working with them, who were carrying out their duties, braving the wind and snow. When reporters, seeing the layer of snow and frost that had already fallen onto these policemen, asked them

whether they felt tired being on duty all night, they answered: "We are already used to it. We are willing to become tired in order to ensure the safety of the masses."

During this operation, Lhasa PSB has solved a case which occurred not long ago of a person with his face covered who entered a house, clutching a knife, and carried out a robbery. [They] arrested one person on suspicion of this crime, and solved a total of seven instances of assault [lit. injury], robbery and other types of [zhong] exceptionally big criminal cases.

Reporter: Da'erji

Document 15: Article published in the Tibet Daily, 8 May 1997

[TIN Ref N97My08C]

Acting Quickly; Attacking with Heavy Blows

Victory in the early part of the battle in Shigatse's spring and summer Strike Hard campaign

Public security organs at all levels in the Shigatse district, in accordance with the national and regional unified plan for carrying out the spring and summer Strike Hard campaign, have cemented [jiche] the public security situation of the locality, and acting rapidly, having definite objectives in view and attacking with heavy blows, have now obtained victory in the first stage.

Since the start of spring, 46 criminal cases have been solved [pohuo] throughout the district, of which 21 were particularly serious, including the "9 March" [sanjiu] large-scale gold smuggling case, the "5 April" [siwu] large-scale burglary, theft and murder case and other major theft cases. 16.77 kg of gold was seized, and stolen money and

goods worth over 2.07m yuan were pursued.

Shigatse Public Security Bureau, in the light of the problem of some specific cases of pornography and gambling of a business nature in certain public places of entertainment in the city, has concentrated on carrying out rectification. Moreover, in three cases where obscene videos were shown in certain video parlours in the city, three obscene videos, together with the three colour TVs, amplifiers, speakers [yinxiang] and video machines used to show them, were seized.

Since the last ten days of March this year, Shigatse Public Security Bureau, in view of the prominent problem of bicycle theft in its area of jurisdiction, has organised police forces and launched a

special struggle against theft. 45 bicycle thefts were solved, 4 suspected thieves were apprehended, and 27 stolen bicycles were traced.

Bailang county Public Security Bureau, in the light of the problem of villagers from Mayi village in Gadong township, Bailang county, pilfering goods at night time from vehicles passing on the "Riya" highway, despatched the people's police to investigate and deal with this. From 14 to 28 March, they investigated and dealt with 6 cases involving 22 people in which villagers from Mayi village, from 1995 onwards, had pilfered goods at night time from passing goods vehicles. This has ensured excellent order in public security and traffic on the "Riya" highway.

Document 16: Article published in the Tibet Daily, 30 June 1997

[TIN Ref N97Ju30b]

Upholding Attacking and Defending; Treating Both Causes and Symptoms

The outstanding achievements of the Bayi branch of Linzhi [Nyingtri] PSB in rectifying public security [zhi an]

On the foundation of its outstanding achievements obtained during the "spring and summer action" of the Strike Hard campaign, the Bayi branch of Linzhi prefecture Public Security office has carried out a policy of both attacking and defending, treated both the causes and the symptoms and powerfully rectified public security. Public security in Bayi town now manifests a comparatively good appearance.

For a period, there was a high incidence of criminal cases in Bayi town, the number of especially serious cases was rising, and there was a continuing series of crimes such as theft and robbery. This all had a serious influence on the construction of the Two Civilisations and on the productivity and lives of the masses in

Bayi town. Based on the forceful reports [fanying qianglie] of the masses and in accordance with the unified plan made by departments at higher levels, the Bayi branch of the Linzhi Public Security Office seized the opportunity, strengthened their investigation methods, resolutely grasped their investigation work and brought about a serious attack on all types of criminal elements. At the same time, they also made adjustments to the police forces, and by many communication channels and in an all round way [quan fangwei] they rectified public security in Bayi town. They placed special emphasis on rectification of places and sections of areas where public security was comparatively chaotic, and on the problems of pornography,

gambling and drugs, as forcefully reported by the masses. Up to the present, the Bayi public security branch has rectified 110 public places, checked up on and uncovered 3,061 migrant temporary residents, checked 1,073 individual traders, carried out significant alterations [zhenggai] in 21 bars and karaoke bars with private booths, and demolished 81 private booths. They also extended investigation of public security cases, carried out a prompt investigation of a group of law-breakers involved in pornography, gambling and drugs and of those involved in brawling. This has brought about an evident change in the appearance of public security and social order in Bayi town.

Staff Reporter: Ou Zhu

Document 17: Item from Tibet TV (Lhasa), 6 November 1997

Translated by BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 8 November 1997

On the afternoon of 4 November, the Lhasa City Public Security Bureau held a mobilisation meeting to launch a special 1997 winter Strike Hard campaign. According to a briefing, the 1997 winter Strike Hard campaign is aimed at

preventing and cracking down on separatists' sabotage activities and various criminal activities. The campaign will be focused on investigating and cracking criminal cases and ensuring safety and crime prevention, as well as on rectifying

public order and promoting basic work. Close attention will be paid to four areas simultaneously - severe crackdown, taking strict precautions, strict supervision and strict control [yan da, yan fang, yan guan, yan kong]. Efforts will be made to

strive to crack a number of major and serious cases which have caused bad influence and grave harm, and to which the masses have voiced strong objections; to disband a number of criminal gangs;

and to strike publicly at a number of lawbreaking criminals within a relatively short period of time, so as to deter the arrogance of criminals. Tsultrim, standing committee member and political and legal

commission secretary of the regional Party committee, was present at the meeting.

4. Accounts of the Strike Hard Campaign and its effects

In May 1996, at the same time as the launch of the Strike Hard campaign, the authorities announced that they were facing violent acts of sabotage and admitted for the first time that some bombings had taken place. The main preoccupation of the authorities in Tibet appeared to be to end all "sabotage" bombings and other protests seen as "splittist", and to track down those responsible. In December 1996, after a large bomb was detonated outside the offices of the Lhasa City Metropolitan District, house to house enquiries were carried out throughout the Tibetan quarter of the capital and a substantial reward was offered for the capture of the bombers. Efforts were made by the authorities to rally support against the bombings. From

then on, there were few if any reports of bombings in the TAR, until the authorities were obliged to confirm the explosion of a small bomb in Lhasa on the eve of President Clinton's visit to China (for details, see the TIN News Update of 1 July 1998).

The impact of the campaign on the lives of individuals can be seen from the interview extracts below. According to one interviewee, business worsened in the hotel industry because of security checks of personal items, including even guests' marriage certificates. Another interviewee described the confiscation of weapons, cars and motorcycles from private individuals, and the "beating up" of individuals for no apparent reason. In addition, many monks and lay people

caught putting up posters, found to be in possession of a picture of the Dalai Lama, demonstrating or arguing with the work teams were arrested and put into prison.

The Strike Hard campaign has increased the concern of human rights organisations outside China, particularly with regard to the large number of executions. The speed and harshness of the judicial process during the campaign has given rise to doubts as to whether the revised Criminal Law procedures, which came into force on 1 January 1997, will be followed.

Further details of cases involving monks are given in the Patriotic Education section.

Document 18: Interview extract

This document, which is an extract from an interview carried out in 1991 (in Chinese), is given purely as background. The interviewee, a Chinese lawyer, commenced her working life during the 1983 Strike Hard campaign in China. She gives a brief description of her job and the procedures followed by the courts.

I graduated as a lawyer in 1983 and immediately began work as a defence lawyer during the anti-crime campaign. I worked in [name withheld] Lawyers' Office, and handled about 150 cases during the campaign in various courts. I received notification of each case about 2 to 3 days before the trial, when I was given the procurators' files on the cases that were to be submitted to the court. I was not allowed to attend any court meetings, and could not raise issues in the

trial itself, so had to rely on friends inside the court to try to influence pre-trial meetings. Any influence by a lawyer had to be done by behind the scenes contacts before the trial, perhaps by discussing the case with the procurator. I had good relations with the procurators I dealt with but some other lawyers I knew ran into conflicts with them or were even arrested. For the first month all the lawyers' submissions were completely ignored by the judges, but after complaints by the

lawyers, more attention was paid. Altogether I think about 30% of my cases were not guilty, and I managed to win 5 cases. About 15 of my cases were executed. In my first case a 20 year old boy was sentenced to death for hitting someone after or during a mahjong game; I did the appeal although he was so terrified - even his fingernails were grey with fear - that he didn't want an appeal. I lost it anyway.

Document 19: Interview extract

This document is an extract from an interview with a Tibetan refugee carried out in March 1995. [TIN Ref 3(KR)]

In this area, the prostitutes are all Chinese. In Lhasa, in a year they will have an anti-crime campaign for about two or three weeks. During that time, they will conduct surprise raids on various places; they come with a video camera to brothels and other places of unlawful activities;

then they take videos of police in action arresting people. Later on, when the videos are shown, this place [where the Chinese prostitutes are, near the military base] is not at all included; they only show Tibetan prostitutes and other areas; but this place is not at all shown. The reason

is that it is frequented mostly by very high Chinese officials; of course, a lot of Tibetan youngsters also go there. But also the Chinese officials go there; that is why they exclude this from the anti-crime drive. I saw the film, which was shown in the evening on television.

Document 20: Interview extract

This document comprises extracts from two interviews with a Tibetan from Kham, carried out in late 1996. He describes the implementation of the Strike Hard campaign in a small area. The interviewee describes physical assaults by official personnel, and confiscation of weapons and vehicles, including cars, during the campaign. While there was some confusion during the interview as to the title of the campaign which was being discussed, it seems clear from the course and nature of events that what is being described is the Strike Hard campaign. [TIN Ref K(44)]

With regard to people who had pictures of the Dalai Lama, such as the nomads, the restriction on the photos of the Dalai Lama has been in force for a very long time. Right from the time of the invasion, people were not allowed to keep photos of the Dalai Lama, and until some time in 1980 when they announced the new policy of liberalisation, people were not even allowed to recite the "om mani padme hum" mantra. Then from 1985 it became quite lenient, people could display photos of the Dalai Lama. When there were these very big demonstrations in Lhasa, I don't know the exact dates, in 1987 or around that time, the Chinese announced, "You are not allowed to revere the Dalai Lama nor allowed to have the photograph of the Dalai Lama, because the Dalai Lama is a splittist who is trying to create disharmony between different nationalities in China" and all the usual things. Nevertheless, the nomads and farmers kept on wearing this and no one said anything to them. Then since the announcement of the new Panchen Lama by His Holiness, they have banned them [photos of the Dalai Lama]. It's the same for government workers.

In May this year [1996] they started a campaign called the Strike Hard campaign [*trak rtung*] campaign. This kind of campaign is carried out from time to time. The announcement about this campaign was made by a department called thinfa [in Chinese]. The law courts, people's procuracy, PSB, PAP, security and people's law department [*uang thrim ju*] come under this department, basically the public security apparatus. It was announced through newspapers. Generally they would announce these sorts of things, like for example, sometimes they might say, now the coming three months will be months when we will do this kind of activity, or the coming one month; it keeps on varying. The campaign was announced [in the newspaper], but then they [authorities] didn't say on which particular day it's going to happen. The last two or three years, almost every year, they have this kind of campaign [*trak rtung*]. So they would say that from such and such month to such and such month we will carry out

this campaign. In the past, unless you had committed some crime, nothing would happen to you. But this time, they just started beating up people irrespective of whether the people had done anything or not.

[On 3 or 4 May] There were people from the Public Security Bureau, then the People's Armed Police, and also officers from the law department. They [from the law department] are not civilian officers, but they are military, kind of; I mean they have uniforms just like the PSB. They were from the law department, the thim khang. But it was mainly PSB and PAP. Probably there were between thirty and forty [in all]. They came to Ordoo township. The sub-district is a bigger thing [than the township]; the administrative headquarters of Sersbul sub-district is on the territory of Ordoo township.

Lots of Chinese PSB and other paramilitary forces came to our villages, they had jeeps with guns and all that; and they parked the jeeps at all the intersections, the road intersections, and then people's houses were searched. The nomads were carrying weapons. Actually they always carry these weapons, because nomads generally have to go from place to place and they eat meat, for which they need the knife. Also, because they have to travel for such a long distance, they are afraid that they might meet brown bears or some other wild animals, or anything like that, so [they carry the knives] to protect themselves against the wild animals; and then that other weapon [iron ball on a rope] they would carry because most nomads kept dogs and those dogs were fierce, so unless you had some protection like that, the dogs could really bite you or do something like that. Large knives and small knives, all knives were taken. Anyway it's kind of a Tibetan tradition to have long hair and carry knives all the time. They confiscated the knives and the nomads had a kind of round iron ball with a kind of rope at the end; it's to hit the dogs or if there's a fight, they hit, it was their boomerang, it's a kind of weapon. All these things were confiscated.

People were just walking peacefully. They [the authorities] would catch people

and beat them up, just to frighten them. This went on for about two or three hours one day. They were all innocent people that they were beating up, people just walking about peacefully, they would just pick up somebody and beat him up. They were injured just for intimidation. They didn't go to people's houses [at that point]; they just went to those areas where there is a concentration of people, market place or something like that, and then picked up people and beat them up. Just near the intersections they blocked all the roads and then beat up people at random from there and then they were moving around in trucks with guns mounted on them. If there was a big rebellion against the nation, that kind of action might be understandable; but there was nothing happening, so it was totally unjustified. During the same period of time, they [the authorities] came and confiscated [weapons] and beat up people. It took two days, two or three days. After that, a few days later, they confiscated the cars. All these things happened together in all the four sub-districts. They had divided the soldiers into four groups and then sent them into different sub-districts. There were twenty-five or twenty-six people beaten up, in the one sub-district that I was in.

Because there were only a few cars, they [the officials] knew everyone who had cars or bikes, so they made a list of all the people who had cars or bikes and told them to fetch them. The county level PSB would know and so would the sub-district level officials, because there is only one road, and they would be spying this road every day. The people who came to confiscate the vehicles were also from the county. They knew beforehand who had cars or bikes or whatever, they gave money to some of the poorer people and asked them to report on all the people who had cars and bikes; so they had all the information before coming there.

Some of the cars and bikes were being used at that time; but some of them were broken down. Those also were taken away by the Chinese. Even from before, the Chinese didn't generally like the nomads using cars or bikes or things like that. They used to tell them, "You're all

nomads; you won't be able to handle these things; you should not handle machines." All the cars were confiscated. Even those who had bills from the shop, for having bought [the vehicles], even those were confiscated. It was like this: they [the authorities] made an announcement saying that everybody should bring their bikes or cars to the Sershul sub-district administration office. So most people took them to the sub-district office. Those which were not working and were at home or in the yard or somewhere, officials went and dragged them out. It was not announced but actually individual owners were notified, they were told that they should bring them to the sub-district

office. So those that were not working were dragged by the PSB. There was a car with a siren in front and in between there were all these confiscated cars and bikes and then at the end, there were two army jeeps following them. Then this was shown on the video, television. [People's houses were searched] if somebody was asked to bring his bike, he lied to the authorities, saying he had sold it. Then the authorities said "no you haven't sold it; it's inside your home." And then they would come and search the house.

About 54 people had either cars or motor bikes and all of them were confiscated. All the motorcycles and cars were taken to the county headquarters, and the

motorcycles were loaded onto trucks. Some of the motorcycles were brand new. People had kept them very nicely and maintained them. When they [the authorities] were loading them onto the trucks, they were just flinging the motorbikes on, and damaging them. It was as if your enemy was acting against you, not as if a friend or somebody who thinks of your welfare was doing all these things. They were taken to the county administration and kept by the PSB there. If you were wealthy you could pay some bribes, they would give some of these bikes or cars back to individuals, but that was if you could pay bribes.

Document 21: Interview extract

The following document comprises extracts from an interview with a Tibetan refugee in late 1996. The interviewee describes a decline in the hotel business which he says is due to the Strike Hard campaign. [TIN Ref 33(JW)c]

Business went down because of the Strike Hard campaign launched last year. The police started checking everybody everywhere. A lot of new check posts were made on the roads and people had to show their documents. People staying in hotels were checked, and couples had to show their marriage certificate. Normally when people travel they don't carry their marriage certificate with them.

For the whole of last year they held this Strike Hard campaign, and then they erected various checkpoints along the roads. Police was roaming about and checking all the travellers. If we had a

customer they would ask for the ID card. When the person produced his ID card, they would ask: "Why did you come here, what are your purposes", all kinds of questions. If people had private vehicles, if they had parked the vehicles outside, they would check the vehicles, and if there is a couple staying in the same room they will ask for their marriage certificate. Because of all this harassment, people don't want to stay in the hotels in the city.... They either want to stay in the outskirts of the city where there is not so much police harassment, or they would stay in some obscure places.

In monasteries, there were checks for the photos of the Dalai Lama, and confiscations. This campaign first started with government employees, then they carried it out in the monasteries. Now the Strike Hard campaign is a nation wide campaign, launched in the whole of China. In China it is against common criminals, or against corruption and things like that. In Tibet it is mainly against political activists, because common criminals were generally...they would just escape or do anything, and very few get caught.

Document 22: Interview extract

The following are extracts from an interview with a young Tibetan refugee in late 1996. He had studied to be a procurator, and describes how he was transferred to a different procuracy because of the Strike Hard campaign. [TIN Ref 85(JW)]

At the time I was transferred, some articles of the criminal law of the People's Republic of China were changed, notably the article relating to counterrevolutionary offences and disturbances of public law and order. These were changed at that time.

They called a kind of workshop to train representatives from all the legal set-ups in the districts. To train them and to teach them the new law. And at that time actually there was another guy who was chosen to go to [name withheld] for the training workshop. But his home was in [name 2 withheld] so he had to go up and down every day and it would cost him a lot of money so he was not interested in

going. So then... every weekend we drank. So one weekend, the night before the weekend we were drinking together and he said that he was asked to go to [name withheld] for the training, but he was not interested in going. And as my home was in [name withheld] I asked him if I could go in his place and he said "Yes." Then [I] spoke to the *djen tang trang*, the head of the procuracy, and he agreed so that is how I got to go to [name withheld].

There were probably around 20 people in the workshop, one person from each district procuracy and then there was one from [name withheld] and then some offices had sent some people so all

together there were 20 or 21 people. But the workshop was not really held because then the Strike Hard campaign was launched, and the [name withheld] procuracy was short of procurators. They wanted additional procurators from other areas so I and one procurator from [name withheld] started working in the [name withheld] procuracy, for about 5 months. And then after 5 months I took a leave for about 1 month so all together I spent 6 months in [name withheld]. This was from March to August 1996. I was recruited specially due to the Strike Hard campaign. Normally, about 30 procurators work in the [name withheld] procuracy. For the Strike Hard campaign

2 or 3 more people were called; of these 30 people, there were about 5 or 6 Chinese.

There were special instructions for the Strike Hard campaign, "you will have to be strict and swift". For example - whether it is an appropriate example or not - generally, if someone stole more than 500 yuan, then there would be a case for

prosecution against him, and the charges would be stressed against him. But if he stole less than 500 then no charges would be pressed against him. That means, nothing would be done. For lesser offences, like stealing less than 500 yuan or just involving in a street brawl, these cases were not brought to court; these offenders would be sent to a reform

through labour camp or given some punishment by the PSB itself, without reference to the court. But during that time, even someone who stole less than around 420 yuan, then that would also be considered a serious case to be brought to court. That is what I mean by saying "strict".



Appendix I

The Strike Hard Campaign: A Chronology

January 1996

A bomb is detonated in Tsenden, Sog county, Nagchu prefecture, damaging a Chinese and a Muslim owned shop.

Explosions

18 January 1996

A bomb is detonated outside the home of Sengchen Lobsang Gyaltsen, a prominent Tibetan lama who has been criticised by pro-independence activists for backing the Chinese selection of the Panchen Lama.

Explosions

18 March 1996

A bomb explodes outside the Tibet Communist Party headquarters, in the same building as the TAR government.

Explosions

15 April 1996

A three month nationwide campaign against crime, called "Strike Hard", is launched in China.

China

9 May 1996

The "Strike Hard" campaign is launched in the TAR with a large mobilisation rally attended by 1,200 senior Party cadres in Lhasa. Lobsang Dondrup, Lhasa Party Committee secretary and vice chairman of the regional government, said: "Starting from now, we should use three months' time to unfold a serious fight against sabotage by separatists and other serious criminals", according to the Tibet Daily.

Official

10 May 1996

Four people are executed for murder and robbery following a sentencing rally in Lhasa involving twenty one criminals. One of the men was a Tibetan called Lobsang Norbu who was executed for robbery. Also on this date, Bai Zhao stressed for the first time that the people's courts should speed up judicial proceedings.

Executions

20 May 1996

The police and the courts issue an ultimatum for Tibetan pro-independence activists and criminals to turn themselves over to the authorities. It is addressed first to "the small number of separatists [who] have engaged in violent activities such as blowing things up", but also to murderers, rapists, arms-dealers, hooligans, pornographers, drug-traffickers and prostitutes.

Official

27 May 1996

Tibet TV announces that five Tibetans in Shigatse have received sentences of up to five years in prison for calling for Tibetan independence. The sentences are announced at a rally in a local sports stadium at which eight other people (at least six of them Tibetan) received the death sentence for murder or theft. This is the first report of sentencing for pro-independence activities since the launch of the Strike Hard campaign.

Sentences

29 May 1996

A Tibet TV commentary links the Strike Hard campaign to the development of the economy: "We may well say that the success of the campaign is a prerequisite for maintaining a high degree of unity with the Party Central Committee: it is also a

Official

major issue for whether the people in Tibet can stand hand-in-hand with the people in other parts of the country in achieving economic prosperity."

17 June 1996

An article by Bai Zhao, president of the TAR Regional People's Court, is published in the Tibet Daily. The article states that efforts have been made to try cases promptly, citing as an example a court in Shigatse which "interrogated defendants throughout the night" and "took only ten days" after the original verdict being given to review verdicts and carry out executions. The article states that the intensity of the Strike Hard struggle must be increased, that severe punishments and death sentences must be meted out to those who deserve them, and that "we must never be soft-hearted".

Official

June 1996

The Procuratorial Daily reports that to date 187 people have been arrested and 287 cases solved in Tibet.

Results

4-7 July

A three day regional conference takes place on the Strike Hard campaign and on strengthening the comprehensive management of social order. It is attended by Ragdi, Guo Jinlong, Tsultrim, Bai Zhao, Thubten Tsewang and others.

Conference

8 July 1996

Lhasa Radio reports that four people have been executed in Nyngtri at the prefectural stadium, following a mass sentencing rally attended by over 10,000 people. Seventeen other criminals have been sentenced at the same rally to life or fixed term imprisonment for crimes including robbery, murder, rape, drug trafficking and theft.

Executions

9 July 1996

Nine people are executed in Lhasa (at least six of them Tibetans), following a rally at the Lhasa stadium, for crimes including murder, robbery, rape and larceny. Two of the Tibetans are women.

Executions

5 August 1996

The authorities in Tibet announce an extension to the Strike Hard campaign, which is originally scheduled to last three months, and call on "the whole society to go into action [to] fight against separatists' splittist and sabotage activities". Ragdi says: "In particular, greater efforts must be made to improve the work of clearing up and straightening out lamaseries"...and adds: "To do this, all offices, bureaus, departments and commissions of the region are required to take the lead".

Extension to campaign

6 August 1996

Four Tibetans are executed in Lhasa, one year after their arrest for murder and seven months after their appeal was turned down, according to the Tibet Daily.

Executions

8 August 1996

An article in the Tibet Daily comments that although "appar-

News Item

ently good results" have been achieved in the Strike Hard campaign, it will be "prolonged and arduous work" to ensure long term stability. The article says that the Strike Hard campaign must not stop, but continue in a "deep going and persistent way". Emphasis is placed first on splittists and sabotage, then on crime and criminal gangs.

14 August 1996

Official

Gyaltzen Norbu announces in a speech shown on Tibet TV that "in carrying out our Strike Hard struggle, we always insist on giving priority to the anti-splittism struggle and take the task of cracking cases involving explosions committed by separatists as the most important part of the Strike Hard work." This refers to the bomb explosions which had taken place earlier in the year; see above.

15 August 1996

Official

Gyaltzen Norbu is reported in the Tibet Daily as saying that the TAR authorities have "regarded the cracking of explosion cases created by the separatist elements as the focus of focuses in the Strike Hard struggle and have effectively and in good time handled various kinds of separatist and trouble making incidents created by a small number of separatist elements."

7 August 1996

Official

At a meeting of the Standing Committee of the TAR Party Committee in Lhasa, Ragdi announces that "in the third wave of the Strike Hard campaign, we should focus our attention on key targets and crack down on separatists and serious criminals".

10 September 1996

Executions

At a TAR Government News Office press conference, it is announced that a number of criminals are to be executed in areas including Lhokha, Shigatse, Nagchu, Nyingtri, Lhasa and Ngari. The cases of five of those to be executed are described.

11 September 1996

Executions

Five people, including one Tibetan, are executed in Tsethang, Lhokha prefecture, according to unofficial sources.

16 September 1996

The Third Wave

Lobsang Namgyal, deputy secretary of Chamdo prefectural Party committee, says: "The ongoing third wave of the Strike Hard struggle is the continuation and deepening of the previous two campaigns." He advises all levels of Party and government to "make great efforts to crack major and important cases" and to "strengthen their management over social order".

29 October 1996

Winter Action

At a mobilisation meeting in Lhasa, Li Xianwen, Lhasa's deputy director of public security, announces that in order to ensure security in Lhasa during New Year's Day, the Spring Festival and Tibetan New Year's Day, specially targeted Strike Hard struggles will be launched during the next month "to whip up another upsurge in the Strike Hard struggle".

10 December 1996

Winter Action

Tenzin, and other senior officials, attend the Lhasa branch conference of a national conference on the impending Winter Action. Tenzin says in his speech that pornography, gambling and narcotics use have continued to spread and even become rampant in some localities, and he announces measures to wipe

them out.

12 December 1996

Winter Action

A "Strike Hard Winter Action" is launched in Lhasa and other counties under its jurisdiction, with the focus of cracking down on serious offences. Wang Guisheng, deputy director of TAR Public Security and director of Lhasa City PSB, speaks at a mobilisation meeting held in Lhasa on this date.

12 December 1996

Executions

In Serkhog [Datong] Hui-Tibetan autonomous county, three people charged with murder, robbery and theft are sentenced to death and executed immediately, as part of the Strike Hard Winter Action in Qinghai. The Drotsang [Ledu] county court and Tsoshar [Haidong] Prefectural Intermediate people's court also hold rallies to punish 39 serious criminal offenders, three of whom were sentenced to death.

18 December 1996

China

Ren Jianxin, China's chief judge, says that because the campaign has been successful, it may be continued throughout 1997. According to AFP, local newspapers have reported at least 120 executions in the week since December 12. Ren Jianxin is quoted in the People's Daily as saying that "the key task for next year is to eliminate all threats to social stability by asserting complete control over the public order situation throughout the country."

25 December 1996

Explosions

A large explosive device went off in Lhasa outside the front gate of the offices of the Lhasa City Metropolitan District. Gyatso, an executive vice-chairman of the TAR, attributed the blast to the "Dalai clique".

26 December 1996

Winter Action

A public sentencing mass meeting is held and the winter Strike Hard Campaign launched in Nagchu prefecture.

6 January 1997

Winter Action

Lhasa starts an "eliminate pornography and strike at evil-doing" action.

19 January 1997

Official

At a regional meeting of directors of public security departments and bureaus in Lhasa, Tsultrim says that public security organs at all levels in Tibet have carried out a "forceful Strike Hard struggle against selected targets". He calls for the integration of efforts against sabotage by separatists with efforts to crack down on crimes, and the making of greater contributions to Tibet's political and social stability.

31 January 1997

Executions

17 people are executed for crimes including murder, robbery, theft, rape and a bombing case, according to the Tibet Daily. One person is given a suspended death sentence and another 6 are given sentences of 20 years or less.

27 February 1997

China

A Xinhua report states that throughout China the winter Strike Hard campaign has been very successful with the smashing of more than 38,000 criminal gangs. The Ministry of Public Security has issued a circular calling for an intensification of the Strike Hard campaign so as to lay a solid foundation for the maintenance of social stability.

End February 1997**Qinghai**

The Qinghai province winter Strike Hard campaign ends. During the campaign 1,385 criminal cases were cracked, 1,043 criminals captured, and stolen goods seized to the value of 4.47 million yuan, according to Qinghai Daily.

2 March 1997**Official**

A four day meeting in Lhasa of the combined military and police forces to plan the work for 1997 ends. Guo Jinlong is quoted as saying that the separatist struggle is becoming "keener and more complex".

17 March 1997**Spring Campaign: China**

A Xinhua report states that the winter campaign has ended and the spring campaign has begun. Nationwide, during the winter campaign, more than 380,000 criminal cases were cracked and more than 23,000 "fugitives" were captured. The spring campaign is to focus on areas including explosions, bank robberies and other serious violent crimes, and the vigorous elimination of pornography, gambling, illegal drugs and social evils.

10 April 1997**Spring and Summer Campaign**

Spring and summer Strike Hard commences in Lhasa.

29 April 1997**Gansu**

The second unified action of the Strike Hard in Gansu is launched at 10pm, according to the Gansu Daily of 30 April. This is to be the first unified action for the struggle against drugs; planting, trafficking and taking drugs are all forbidden. The article also states that since the commencement of the spring Strike Hard campaign, 2,838 criminal cases have been cracked, and 6,189 criminals caught.

30 April 1997**China: Results**

Bai Jingfu, China's deputy minister of public security, says that "China's Strike Hard campaign, which started a year ago, has brought the country's crime rate down for the first time in many years." The campaign included the "joint mission", the "winter mission" and the current "spring rectification mission". He says that 1,385 criminal cases have been cracked and 1,043 criminals captured; stolen goods have been seized to the value of 4.47m yuan [US\$526,000]. He says that more than 80 per cent of crimes have been revealed by leads from the public, and that 45 per cent of criminals have been apprehended with their help.

30 April 1997**Spring and Summer Campaign**

Tibet TV carries a report on the success of the spring and summer Strike Hard struggle in Lhasa, giving details of criminals arrested and their crimes (burglary, knife attacks and robbery). It says that the campaign has "further improved public order, winning unanimous praise from all in society", and "hit hard at the criminals' rampant arrogance".

8 May 1997**Results**

The Tibet Daily carries an article about the Strike Hard campaign in Shigatse saying that since the start of spring, 46 criminal cases have been solved and 2.07m yuan [US\$244,000] worth of stolen money and goods have been traced.

15 May 1997**Official**

Gyaltsen Norbu's government Work Report, delivered to the

fifth session of the Sixth TAR People's Congress, calls for an intensive struggle against separatism. He calls for the extensive mobilisation of "the masses and various sectors of society persistently to carry out the Strike Hard campaign", and continues: "We should give top priority to the crackdown of separatists' sabotage activities; and concentrate efforts on solving major and serious cases, focusing on the crackdown on explosions, assassinations and armed criminals and criminal gangs."

3 June 1987**TAR Court Work Report**

The TAR Court Work Report for 1996 sets out the results for the Strike Hard campaign during that year. Bai Zhao, president of the TAR Higher People's Court, states that "the sabotages conducted by splittists" have been the focus of the security crackdown in Tibet. Altogether 2,126 criminal cases have been handled by the law courts this year (an increase of 31.23 per cent over 1995), of which 1,853 were closed after trials (an increase of 20 per cent). Among first-trial cases, 47 cases involving 98 persons concerned crimes endangering national security. In forty-four cases involving graft, bribery and the embezzlement of public funds, economic losses of 78,028.1m yuan [US\$9.18m] to the state and collective organisations were recovered. Sixty per cent of prisoners were sentenced to more than five years of imprisonment, life imprisonment or death.

23 October 1997**Qinghai**

According to the Qinghai Daily there has been a special struggle against drug related and criminal cases in the province during the second half of 1997. The authorities have "cracked a batch of major and appalling cases", says the article, which gives two examples of narcotics traffickers caught with heroin and a sale of a panda skin. The article also gives examples of gun related crimes and homicides, and calls for efforts to be made to increase the real efficiency of the Strike Hard struggle.

4 November 1997**Winter Strike Hard**

Lhasa City PSB holds a mobilisation meeting to launch a special winter 1997 Strike Hard campaign. The aim of the campaign is to prevent and crack down on separatists' sabotage activities and various criminal activities; close attention is to be paid to four different areas simultaneously, ie. severe crackdown, taking strict precautions, strict supervision and stringent control.

19 November 1997**Results**

The Tibet Daily publishes an article saying that the Lhasa City PSB has cracked a number of major cases; 19 criminal suspects and one escapee from a labour-education reformatory have been arrested, and stolen money and articles worth more than 20,000 yuan [US\$2,350] recovered. Party committees and governments at all levels in the region are making "careful and effective plans to deepen the campaign", says the article.

16 January 1998**China**

Ren Jianxin, president of the Supreme People's Court, speaks at the first full meeting of the Central Committee for Comprehensive Management of Public Security. He says that "in comprehensively managing public security in 1998, we must make Strike Hard the key link, combining crackdown with prevention, with the emphasis on prevention, to improve society's overall crime prevention capabilities."

11 February 1998

Official

Guo Jinlong, executive deputy secretary of the TAR Party committee, calls for increased Party leadership over law enforcement, political and judicial work at the regional political and judicial work conference in Lhasa.

12 March 1998

China: Official

Ren Jianxin, in his work report delivered to the first session of the 9th NPC, says: "in the next five years, people's courts at various levels should continue to strictly enforce the two sets of laws, uphold the Strike Hard campaign, and make concerted efforts to safeguard state security and social stability."

6 April 1998

Continuation of the Struggle

An article entitled "Earnestly do a good job in comprehensive management of public security to ensure social and political stability in Tibet", by Zhang Xianqun, appears in the Tibet Daily. The article notes that after several years of hard work "the anti-splittism struggle in this region has changed from passively coping with emergencies to actively combating splittism. We waged a timely Strike Hard struggle and dealt with specific problems." According to the article, problems affecting social and political stability remain very conspicuous

and Tsultrim, secretary of the commission for comprehensive management of public security of the TAR Party committee, has suggested that special campaigns should be launched to deal with specific problems in public security.

15 May 1998

Court Work Report

Bai Zhao, President of the TAR Higher People's Court, said that courts tried 6,291 people in the past five years and had found 0.73 per cent not guilty. More than half the defendants were given sentences ranging from five years to death. Tibet's chief prosecutor, Tudeng Caiwang, urged the judiciary to "increase their political sensitivity and remain clear-headed" against separatists. The report stated that the task of top priority was "cracking down, according to the law, on a handful of separatists and maintaining Tibet's social and political stability".

9 June 1998 New TAR Regulations on Social Order

Among regulations issued by the TAR People's Congress Standing Committee are "Tibet Autonomous Region Provisional Articles on Comprehensive Control of Social Order".

Appendix II

Revisions to Chinese Criminal Justice Legislation: A TIN Analysis

This analysis describes the main changes made to the 1979 Criminal Law and the 1979 Criminal Procedure Law which came into effect on 1 October 1997 and 1 January 1997 respectively.

The position of the TAR within the Chinese administrative and legal system

The TAR is administered as part of the People's Republic of China and, as such, the great majority of the applicable laws are those passed at the national level. Primary legislative authority over the TAR therefore remains with the central government. Article 62 of the 1982 Constitution of the People's Republic of China gives the NPC the power to enact and amend certain basic laws, and Article 67 gives the Standing Committee of the NPC the power to enact, amend and interpret laws, except those to be enacted by the NPC.

The Constitution also outlines the powers and duties of autonomous regions, including the TAR: the authorities in these areas "exercise regional autonomy"¹. They have power to "exercise the power of autonomy within the limits of their authority as prescribed by the Constitution, the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy and other laws and implement the laws and policies of the state in the light of the existing local situation."² Article 116 states that the people's congresses of national autonomous areas have power to enact regulations in the light of the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nationality in the area concerned. However, such regulations have to be submitted to the Standing Committee of the NPC for approval before they go into effect. This wording does not spell out that regulations not approved cannot come into effect. However, it is interesting to note the TAR People's Congress has quite a short legislative record: according to the People's Daily of 10 June 1998, in "recent years" 55 local laws and 12 regulations and decisions have been made, 50 per cent of legislation since the start of reform and opening up. This indicates that only 110 laws have been made in, say, 17 years: an average of six per year.

On the other hand, a tremendous volume of legislation has been produced at NPC level during that time, dealing with matters ranging from crime, state security and religious activities to business and economic development and foreign trade. This commentary deals with significant recent changes to the Criminal Law and the Criminal Procedure Law.

A: The Criminal Law

The Criminal Law (the "1979 Criminal Law") was adopted by the second session of the National People's Congress on July 1, 1979, and came into effect as of 1 January 1980. It was the first comprehensive code of substantive criminal law of the People's Republic of China. An official campaign at the time of introduction of the 1979 Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure Law emphasised the importance of criminal justice institutions meeting detailed legal standards. Agencies in the criminal process had been established in the PRC in the early 1950s, but had fallen into disuse during the 1960s and 1970s. The intention in regulating criminal procedure was to ensure that the lawlessness resulting from the lack of any legal standards or safeguards during the Cultural Revolution could not happen again.

The 1979 Criminal Law contained 192 articles. Its provisions have been amended or supplemented on many occasions by the NPC, 10 times since 1990. Amnesty International writes that while 21 offences were punishable by the death penalty in the original law, by March 1996 it applied to an estimated 68 offences³.

The fifth session of the Eighth National People's Congress adopted comprehensive amendments to the 1979 Criminal Law on 14 March 1997. The law as amended (the "amended Criminal Law") came into force on 1 October 1997. It has 452 articles, some of which had their origins in fifteen decisions, supplementary provisions and regulations made by the NPC Standing Committee. Also included are the provisions governing criminal liability contained in eight other supplementary provisions and decisions.

Part I

Chapter 1. General Provisions

There have been three important additions:

- The 1979 Criminal Law provided (Article 79) that: "A crime that is not expressly stipulated in the Special Provisions of this Law may be determined and punished according to the most closely analogous article of the Special Provisions of this Law, but the matter

¹Article 113, Constitution of the People's Republic of China, promulgated on December 4, 1982 (the "1982 Constitution"). Published in "Laws of the People's Republic of China, 1979-1982".

²Article 115 of the 1982 Constitution.

³Amnesty International estimate. The death sentence was made applicable to crimes including being the ringleader of a criminal hooligan group, a ringleader of a group abducting and selling people and hiring, sheltering or forcing women in or into prostitution, where the circumstances are "especially serious", by a Decision of the 2nd Session of the Standing Committee of the Sixth NPC on September 2, 1983. Further crimes including economic crimes such as smuggling, speculative arbitrage and speculation (former Article 118), theft (former article 152), sale of narcotics (former article 171) were made subject to the death penalty "when the circumstances are particularly serious" by a Decision of the 22nd Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth NPC on March 8, 1982. See "The Criminal Law and the Criminal Procedure Law of China", pub. Beijing, 1984

shall be submitted to the Supreme People's Court for approval." This provision has been removed; Article 3 of the amended Criminal Law provides in part that "any act that no explicit stipulations of law deems a crime is not to be convicted or given punishment".

* Article 4 of the amended Criminal Law provides that "Everyone is equal before the law in committing crime. No-one is permitted to have privileges to transgress the law."

* Article 5 of the amended Criminal Law provides that "The severity of punishments must be commensurate with the crime committed by an offender and the criminal responsibility he bears."

Chapter II: Types of Punishment

Punishments are either "principal punishments" or "supplementary punishments"; the types of punishment were not changed. They are, in brief:

Principal punishments (Article 33):

- * control, whereby the offender continues to work and collect wages, but is not allowed to exercise the rights to freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration unless approval is given by the organ exercising control. He has to abide by the rules of the organ executing the control for meeting visitors. (Formerly, he was simply required to submit to supervision and report to public security organs.) The term is between 3 months and 2 years;
- * criminal detention, whereby the criminal is confined to a detention house and is allowed to go home for one or two days each month. The term is between 1 and 6 months (formerly the minimum was 15 days);
- * fixed-term imprisonment, the term being between six months and 15 years;
- * life imprisonment (term unspecified); and
- * death penalty ("only to be applied to criminal elements who commit the most heinous crimes", Article 48) with a possible 2 year suspension.

Supplementary punishments (Article 34):

- * fines, to be determined according to the circumstances of the crime;
- * deprivation of political rights (term of between 1 and 5 years, unless the offender also receives a principal punishment in which case the term can be as much as deprivation for life);
- * confiscation of property, whereby part or all of the property personally owned by the criminal (save living expenses) is confiscated.

Reduction of sentence

Article 71 of the 1979 Criminal Law provided that a sentence could be reduced if the criminal "truly repents or demonstrates meritorious service". Article 78 in the amended Criminal Law, which contains a similar provision, adds a definition of what counts as "meritorious services". The six options include "risking his life to save others in day-to-day production activities and life", and "informing on major criminal activities in or outside the prison that can be verified". The amount of possible reduction is not changed.

Parole

Granting of parole under the 1979 Criminal Law was possible if a criminal "demonstrates true repentance and will not cause further harm to society" (Article 73). The comparable provision in the amended Criminal Law is more lengthy: it provides that a criminal "may be granted parole if he earnestly observes prison regulations, undergoes reform through education, demonstrates true repentance, and will not cause further harm to society after being paroled." It also provides that those sentenced to fixed term imprisonment of more than 10 years or life imprisonment for violent crimes shall not be granted parole.

Reporting of criminal punishments

Article 100 of the amended Criminal Law provides: "When people join the military, or seek employment, those who received criminal punishments according to law shall factually report to the relevant units the punishments they had received and may not conceal them."

Part II: Special Provisions

Chapter I: Crimes of Endangering National Security

The comparable section in the 1979 Criminal Law was called "Crimes of Counterrevolution". The term "crimes of endangering national security" is now used throughout in place of "counterrevolutionary crimes". In a similar way, the term "counterrevolutionary" is usually replaced by the term "criminal element endangering state security".

To a large extent the contents have not actually been changed. However, specific attention is now given to crimes of "splittism": new Article 103 deals with crimes of organising, plotting or acting to split the country. In the 1979 Law, Article 91 dealt with colluding and plotting to "harm the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the motherland", and Article 92 dealt with "plots to [...] dismember the state". The 1997 Law has five Articles (102 to 105) dealing with these matters.

Additions to the law are as follows:

- * Article 107 provides that where institutions, organisations or individuals inside or outside the PRC who provide financial support for organisations or individuals within the PRC to commit the crimes of harming the motherland's sovereignty, territorial integrity and security (Article 102), organising, plotting, acting or instigating to split the country or to undermine national unification (Article 103),

organising, plotting or carrying out armed rebellion or riots (or instigating state personnel to do so) (Article 104), or organising, plotting, or acting to subvert the political power of the state and to overthrow the socialist system (or instigating others to do so) (Article 105), their "direct persons in charge" are to be sentenced to specified punishments.

* Article 109 provides: "If a state organ personnel, during the time of performing his public functions, leave his post without authorisation and defects from the country", he may be sentenced to between 5 and 10 years imprisonment. If the person is "handling state secrets", he may in accordance with Article 108 be sentenced to between 10 years and life imprisonment.

Chapter II: Crimes of Endangering Public Security

Similar ground to the 1979 Criminal Law is covered, but in some cases with considerably more detail. For example, there are now five articles dealing in detail with the manufacture and use of guns (Articles 126 to 130), whereas previously Article 112 provided simply that "Whoever illegally manufactures, trades in or transports guns or ammunition, or steals or seizes the guns or ammunition of state organs, military or police personnel or people's militia..." would be subject to punishment. Hijacking (Articles 121 and 122) is now a crime "endangering public security", rather than a counterrevolutionary crime. Article 120 makes provision for terrorists.

Chapter III: Crimes of Undermining the Order of the Socialist Market Economy

The relevant chapter in the 1979 Criminal Law was called "Crimes of Undermining the Socialist Economic Order" and had only fifteen Articles. This chapter now contains ninety-two Articles, separated into the eight following sections:

- * crimes of manufacturing and selling fake and shoddy goods;
- * smuggling offences;
- * offences against company and enterprise management order;
- * crimes of undermining the order of financial management;
- * crimes of financial fraud;
- * offences against tax collection and management;
- * infringement of intellectual property rights; and
- * crimes of disrupting market order.

Generally speaking, much of the increase in detail and in the number of activities defined as crimes has been necessitated by the transformation taking place in the economy. For example, in the section on Crimes of Undermining the Order of Financial Management, crimes now include insider trading, forging or altering documents including letters of credit, account settlement documents and credit cards, false insurance claims, disrupting securities trading markets by disseminating false information, rigging securities trading prices or shifting the risk in various defined ways, and (for banking personnel) violating the law to grant fiduciary loans to related people⁴.

Chapter IV: Crimes of Infringing Upon the Rights of the Person and the Democratic Rights of Citizens

This chapter covers crimes such as killing, rape, torture, assault, trafficking in people, violation of election laws, illegal detention, abuse of powers, falsification of evidence and tampering with other people's mail.

* Article 247 provides that judicial workers who "extort a confession from criminal suspects or defendants by torture, or who use force to extract testimony from witnesses" are to be sentenced to three years or less in prison or put under criminal detention. This provision is similar to that contained in the 1979 Criminal Law. No provision is made about torture by these personnel which is unrelated to extracting a confession or testimony. There is no definition of "judicial workers" nor is there any provision to distinguish them from "supervisory and management personnel" (see below).

* Article 248 provides that "supervisory and management personnel of prisons, detention centres, and other guard houses who beat or physically abuse their inmates, if the case is serious, are to be sentenced to three years or fewer in prison or put under criminal detention. If the case is especially serious, they are to be sentenced to three to 10 years in prison. Those causing injuries to injuries, physical disablement, or death, are to be convicted and severely punished according to Articles 234 and 232 of this law."⁵

The Articles governing abuse and abduction of and trafficking in women and children are now rather more comprehensive. Article 236 deals with rape and under-age sexual relations; Article 237 applies to anyone who "by violence, coercion or other means forces, molests, or humiliates a woman". Articles 240 and 241 deal with those who abduct and traffic in women or children, and those who buy them.

⁴ Here, as throughout, many of the relevant definitions are not given. For example, Article 196 refers to credit card fraud "if the amount is quite big" and "if the amount is enormous or other circumstances are serious" and "if the amount is especially big, or other circumstances are especially serious" without defining the meaning of any of these terms.

⁵ It is not clear what comprises "abuse" and what comprises "torture"; hopefully the latter is covered by implication in Article 248. Also, there is no definition of what is "serious" or "especially serious". It appears that no crime is committed if the case is not "serious". Articles 232 and 234 deal with causing death or injury respectively. Article 233, which applies to "whoever negligently causes the death of another", is apparently not applicable to judicial workers and management personnel (looking at Articles 147 and 248), and neither is Article 235 which applies to negligent causation of injury. The introduction of liability for injury resulting from negligence is a positive step. Both Articles 232 and 234 require intention to kill or to injure to be present in order for a crime to be committed. Furthermore, there is no provision about permitting, aiding or abetting killing or causing injury being a crime.

Two new Articles deal specifically with ethnic hatred or discrimination, as follows:

- * Article 249: "Those provoking ethnic hatred or discrimination, if the case is serious, are to be sentenced to three years or fewer in prison, put under criminal detention or surveillance, or deprived of their political rights. If the case is especially serious, they are to be sentenced to three to 10 years in prison."
- * Article 250: "Persons directly responsible for publishing materials that discriminate or insult minority nationalities, if the case is serious and results in grave consequences, are to be sentenced to three years or fewer in prison, or put under criminal detention or surveillance."⁶

Chapter V: The Crime of Encroaching on Property

This chapter, formerly called "Crimes of Property Violation", deals with theft, fraud, blackmail, corruption and the destruction of property. This is similar ground to the 1979 Criminal Law, although it is now covered in more detail. However, new Articles 271 and 272 deal with theft of property or funds from companies, enterprises or any other units by their personnel.

Chapter VI: Crimes of Disrupting the Order of Social Administration

This chapter has also been greatly enlarged and now contains 91 Articles, divided into nine sections:

- * Crimes of disrupting public order. Similar areas are covered to those in the 1979 Criminal Law, but in more detail. Articles 289 to 293 deal specifically with crowds assembled "to disturb public order", "to have brawls", or "for beating, smashing and looting".
- * Crimes of disrupting justice. Articles 305 to 308 deal in detail with false testimony, destruction or falsification of evidence, threatening or bribing witnesses to give false testimony and persecuting witnesses. (Former Article 148 dealt with the same matters but in less detail.) Other matters dealt with in this section include assembling a crowd to disturb proceedings, refusing to provide information or to carry out court decisions, interfering with property already sealed, seized or frozen and carrying out sabotage whilst under supervision. Redrafted provisions deal with the escape of convicts, the protection and assistance of known convicts and dealing in stolen goods.
- * Disrupting administration of the territory (border). The crimes stipulated in the 1979 Criminal Law of organising or transporting people secretly across the border are now dealt with separately, in Articles 318 and 321. This section also governs those defrauding others of exit documents and the faking, alteration or sale of exit documents.
- * Disrupting administration of cultural relics. Articles 324 to 329 govern the theft, export and sabotage of cultural relics. They are much more comprehensive than the provisions contained in the 1979 Criminal Law, now distinguishing between different types of relic, and including as crimes the selling or giving of relics to foreigners, selling for profit and the stealing of state-owned records. The provisions on robbery of cultural ruins and tombs are stricter, and Article 327 governs the selling or giving away of relics by state-owned museums and libraries.
- * Endangering public health. This is an almost entirely new section, governing inter alia the spread of contagious diseases and the illegal sale, collection and supply of blood. Article 335 applies to medical personnel who "fail seriously to carry out their responsibility", and Article 336 deals with those who engage in medical practice without obtaining the appropriate qualifications. Violation of the Quarantine law, which was included in the 1979 Criminal Law, is dealt with at Article 337.
- * Undermining protection of environmental resources. This is a new section. Article 338 deals with the causing of serious accidents, heavy losses to property or "grave consequences of personal deaths and injuries" through pollution. Other Articles deal with the protection of forestry and aquatic resources, endangered species, farmland and mineral resources.
- * Smuggling, trafficking, transporting and manufacturing drugs. Under the 1979 Criminal Law, the manufacture, transport and selling of narcotics were all dealt with under one provision. This section contains 11 Articles (347 to 357) and is overall much more comprehensive. Different sentencing guidelines are given depending on the quantity and type of drug. Other provisions deal with providing cover for or conspiring with criminals engaged in drug trafficking, the illegal growing of plants from which drugs are extracted, "luring, instigating or tricking" others into taking or injecting drugs, and producing, transporting or using drugs under state control which are used for mental sickness.
- * Organising, forcing, seducing, harbouring or introducing prostitution. Formerly prostitution was briefly mentioned in two Articles: Article 169 ("Whoever, for the purpose of reaping profits, lures women into prostitution or shelters them in prostitution..."), and Article 140 ("Whoever forces women into prostitution"...). This section contains 5 Articles and is much more detailed than the previous law. Prostitution in itself is not made a crime. Article 360 deals with those who engage in prostitution while suffering from serious venereal diseases or who visit prostitutes under 14 years of age. Articles 361 and 362 deal specifically with personnel of hotels, restaurants, those in the entertainment industry, taxi companies and others who "take advantage of their units' position" to organise prostitution, or to inform "law offenders and criminals while public security personnel are checking prostitution and brothel visiting activities".
- * Producing, selling or disseminating obscene materials. This subject was covered by one Article in the 1979 Criminal Law (Article 170). There are now five Articles; Article 367 provides a definition of "obscene materials". Two Articles have been removed. They governed the manufacture or selling of "bogus medicines, harming the people's health", and also dealt with "sorcerers or witches" who use superstition to engage in "rumour-mongering" or swindling articles of property (formerly Articles 164 and 165).

⁶There is no reference to those who write or distribute such materials. Again, there is no definition of what is a serious case or not a serious case. It would appear that no crime is committed if there are not grave consequences (which are not defined).

Chapter VII: Crimes of Endangering the Interests of National Defence

Chapter X: Crimes of Violation of Duty by Military Personnel

These are both new chapters governing the military. Chapter VII includes provisions on obstruction of duty, sabotage, supply of "unqualified weapons" disruption, posing as military personnel, tampering with military documents, evading conscription and delaying supplies in wartime and undermining morale. Chapter X deals with "acts by military personnel of endangering national and military interests in violation of their duties". These include defiance of orders, concealing information, surrender of own accord, desertion or leaving posts without permission, obstruction of duty, abuse of post, illegal obtaining or leaking military secrets, fabrication of rumours, self-inflicted injury and violation of weaponry regulations. Article 446 deals specifically with injuring or looting innocent residents' persons/property.

Chapter VIII: Graft and Bribery

This is a new section containing fifteen Articles. Article 382 defines, first of all, the crime of "graft", as taking advantage of office (as state personnel) to misappropriate, steal, swindle or use other illegal means to acquire state properties; Article 383 sets out the appropriate punishments. Article 384 defines "embezzlement" and gives the sentences. Article 385 to 393 deal with bribery of state personnel - a crime both for those accepting it and those who offer it. Seeking illegitimate gain is also a crime (Articles 391 and 393). Article 395 provides that when the property or expenses of state functionaries "clearly exceed their legitimate income, where the difference is huge", they will be required to explain the difference. If they fail to do so, that property will be considered illegal income and must be handed over to the state, and they may be sentenced to up to 5 years' imprisonment or criminal detention. Article 396 sets out sentences for situations where state organs, companies and mass organisations distribute state assets to groups of individuals, according to whether the amounts are "fairly large" or "huge".

Chapter IX: Crimes of Dereliction of Duty

This is a catch-all chapter which deals with crimes of abuse of power, neglect, malpractice, favouritism and so on.

Articles 397 and 398 deal with the abuse of power, neglect of duties, favouritism and commission of irregularities, and the intentional or negligent revelation of state secrets. The last applies also to non-state personnel, although they are also to be sentenced "in consideration of the circumstances".

Articles 399 - 401 apply to judicial personnel. Those who act with partiality and bend the law, render judgements which misuse the law, take bribes, release suspects or criminals without authority or "cause their escape", or who due to favouritism and malpractice, offer commutation, parole or out or prison enforcement for offences which do not meet the requirements, are to be punished as set out in these Articles.

Articles 402-406 set out crimes and penalties which apply to administrative law enforcement personnel, work personnel of tax organs and other state organ work personnel, in the areas of justice, tax and business. Other Articles deal with dereliction of duty in areas of forestry and the environment, land management, customs, commercial inspections, quarantine, shoddy merchandise, passports and illegal crossing of state border lines, abductions and kidnapping and so on.

B: The Criminal Procedure Law

Prior to 1979, there was no comprehensive legal structure for China's criminal justice system. While some statutes were adopted in 1954 which contained some detail about the organisation of the courts and about arrests and detentions, efforts to draw up a code of criminal procedure were interrupted by the Anti-Rightist campaign and then by the Cultural Revolution. In July 1979, the PRC's first Criminal Procedure Law (the "1979 CPL") was passed by the NPC. Its 164 Articles covered all stages of the criminal process from detention to execution of sentence.

Perhaps inevitably, problems were encountered in implementation of the new law. Also, China experienced an upsurge in criminal activity in the years after 1979, and amendments were made that tended to expand the power of the police and judicial organs and to restrict the exercise of rights by defendants. In 1983 (during the strike hard campaign), in violent cases, the requirement to give seven days advance notice of trial was waived and the period during which a defendant could appeal against the sentence was reduced from seven to three days. In 1984, amendments allowed some time limits for detention set out in the CPL to be extended or waived altogether.

By the early 1990s, the social environment throughout China had changed almost beyond recognition. Economic reform and development had increased the scope for economic crime, and the perceived increase in crime was continuing. Furthermore, rapid development of the Chinese legal system had led to the 1979 CPL lagging behind and, in some respects, conflicting with later laws and with the 1982 Constitution. Many of the 1979 CPL's provisions were relatively brief, and so a large number of rules for clarification were issued by the procuratorate, the courts and public security departments. Conflicts arising between these rules could only be reconciled by revision at NPC level.

Once the decision was made to revise the law, the Legislative Affairs Commission of the NPC co-ordinated input from the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme People's Procuratorate, the Ministry of Public Security and the Ministry of Justice. A "draft for comment" was prepared by autumn 1995, and the draft was presented to the NPC Standing Committee in December of that year. Rather than starting completely afresh, the NPC finally adopted a Decision of 110 Articles which amended the 1979 CPL. Of its 164 Articles, 70 were amended, 2 eliminated, and 63 new Articles added. The Decision was adopted on 17 March 1996 by the fourth session of the Eighth NPC, and came into force on 1 January 1997. The major changes made by the Decision are described below.

The Criminal Procedure Law, as amended (the "amended CPL"), Part I

Chapter I: Tasks and basic principles

New Article 12 provides that "No-one shall be convicted without a verdict pronounced by a people's court according to the law": this has been seen as a possible introduction of a presumption of innocence. However, there is a strong argument that in substance there is no actual presumption of innocence; see footnote.

Chapter VI: Coercive measures

This chapter contains detailed provisions about 5 forms of detention or restriction applicable prior to any charge being made. Amendments have been made to the time limits.

1. Awaiting trial out of custody

Article 51 (formerly Article 38) provides that a criminal suspect or defendant may be permitted to obtain a guarantor and await trial out of custody. The longest period of awaiting trial is to be no more than 12 months (Article 58); there was no time limit under the 1979 CPL. Article 56 makes some new stipulations as to the suspect's behaviour. The suspect is not to leave his city or county without authorisation, is to promptly present himself when summoned for interrogation or trial, is not to hamper witnesses from testifying, and is not to destroy or fabricate evidence or "gang up to make false confessions". The article also specifies what happens if he does not abide by these stipulations.

2. Living at home under surveillance

Article 51 provides that a criminal suspect or defendant may be permitted to live at home under surveillance. Article 58 provides that the longest period of surveillance is to be no longer than 6 months; there was no time limit under the 1979 CPL. Article 57 stipulates that a suspect under surveillance cannot leave his residence or meet other persons without authorisation, is to promptly present himself when summoned for interrogation or trial, is not to hamper witnesses from testifying, and is not to destroy or fabricate evidence or gang up to make false confessions. Breach of these stipulations may result in arrest. These stipulations are new; formerly the suspect was only required "not to leave the designated area" (Article 38).

3. Detention

Under Article 61, public security organs may detain an "active criminal or a major suspect" in certain circumstances, for example where he is preparing to commit, committing, or has committed a crime, where he has criminal evidence "near his person or at his residence", where he "does not reveal his true name and address or if his identity is unclear", or "if there is strong suspicion that he is a person who goes from place to place committing crimes; who repeatedly committed crimes; or who ganged up with others to commit crimes". These last two are an expanded version of former Article 41(6): "If his identity is unclear and there is strong suspicion that he is a person who goes from place to place committing crimes". Article 64 provides that a detention warrant is required. The detainee's family or his unit must be notified within 24 hours; however there has been no change to the provision allowing the police to dispense with this requirement if it would "hinder the investigation" or if there is "no way to notify them" (Article 64, formerly Article 43). Interrogation is to be conducted within 24 hours.

The maximum period of detention before the suspect must be arrested or released is now 44 days. This 44 days comprises an initial

⁷Points indicating that a presumption of innocence is present are as follows:

- It has been argued by some commentators that the standard of proof in criminal cases - that "the facts are clear and the evidence is reliable and ample" requires the court to clarify the objective truth - exceeding the standard of "beyond reasonable doubt" used in common law jurisdictions.
- In addition the amended CPL introduces a change in terminology. Formerly, the suspect was referred to variously as the "offender", "detained person" and "arrested person" prior to commencement of an investigation, and as the "defendant" (beigaoren) once investigation had commenced and prior to the initiation of the prosecution. The person concerned is now referred to as the "suspect" (fanzui xianyiren) during proceedings prior to the decision to prosecute, weakening the implication that all arrested are guilty.

However, in substance there appears to be no true presumption of innocence in the amended CPL, for the following reasons:

- There is no right to remain silent (see Article 93).
- There is no right for a defendant not to testify (see Article 155).
- There is no provision placing the burden of proof on the prosecution, so as to give the defendant the benefit of the doubt. The prosecution now has the duty to gather and present all relevant evidence (Article 43). However, this duty is not the same as that of fulfilling the burden of proof, as it does not relate directly to the standard of proof required for a conviction. Also, Article 35 provides that the defender is responsible for presenting materials and opinions to prove that the defendant is innocent, the crime is minor, and so on. Here, there is some burden of proof on the defendant, which is inconsistent with the principle of presumption of innocence.

It is also of interest that Article 162 provides three categories of verdict:

- Guilty, where the facts of the case are clear, with verified and sufficient evidence, and the defendant is found guilty according to law
- Innocent, where the defendant is found innocent according to law, and
- Innocent, where the defendant cannot be found guilty because of insufficient evidence and inability to establish the crime which is charged (zhengjiu bu zu, bu neng rending beigaoren yu zui, yingdang zuochu zhengjiu bu zu, zhikong de fanzui bu neng chengli de wuzui panjue)

Existence of a second type of innocence implies a qualitative difference in the "innocence" of that person - ie that they are, perhaps less innocent than those found not guilty "on the basis of the law". In these cases, if a presumption of innocence was being applied, then where the evidence was not sufficient for a conviction, those persons would be as innocent as those found not guilty "on the basis of the law".

period of 3 days, extendable by up to 4 days, a further extension of up to 30 days applicable to "a major suspect who is on the run, who repeatedly commits crimes or who partners with others to commit crimes", plus a 7 day period for the people's procuratorate to decide whether to approve arrest (after submission of the request for review and approval). Under the 1979 CPL (former Article 48), the maximum was 10 days; the initial periods of 3 and 4 days were the same, and the procuratorate had only 3 days to decide whether to approve arrest. If it is not approved, the suspect must be released immediately.⁸

4. Summons

Where a criminal case has already been filed, Article 92 provides that a suspect "whose arrest and detention is not warranted" may be summoned to a "designated place" for interrogation or interrogated at his residence. Article 92 also provides that the suspect may not be held for more than 12 hours continuously; the 1979 CPL had no time limit. The Article also provides that "a criminal suspect shall not be confined in such disguised forms as continuous summons or detention."

New Article 75 provides that the suspect or defendant and his legal representative and close relatives have the right to demand rescission of coercive measures exceeding the legal limit. According to this Article, either they will be released or the coercive measures will be altered in accordance with the law. Article 73 also provides that where the court, procuratorate or public security organ discovers that inappropriate coercive measures have been taken, they are to promptly rescind or alter the measures.

5. Arrest

Article 59 of the amended CPL specifies that arrest of a "criminal suspect or defendant" must be approved by a people's procuratorate or decided by a people's court, and is to be carried out by a public security organ. Again, the family is to be notified within 24 hours, except where it would "interfere with the investigation" or there is "no way to give notice". See also (3) above for arrests of persons already detained.

Article 60 sets out the criteria for an arrest. It provides that where:

"the principal facts [of the crimes] have already been clarified",
 * "the person could be sentenced to a punishment "no less than imprisonment", * surveillance or obtaining a guarantor to await trial out of custody "would be insufficient to prevent him from posing a threat to society" and, therefore, there is "the necessity of arrest", the person shall be "immediately arrested according to law".

According to Article 96(1), a suspect may, after the first time he has been "interrogated by an investigating organ" or coercive measures are taken against him (including arrest), retain a lawyer to offer him legal advice. There is still, therefore, a risk of coerced confessions before a suspect ever has access to a lawyer. However, this is clearer than previous Article 26, which simply stated that the defendant could authorise others to defend him: if interpreted narrowly, this would not provide the necessary rights for preparatory work prior to the trial.

Throughout the judicial process, there is no right to remain silent under questioning; according to Article 93 (formerly Article 64) suspects are required to answer questions "according to the facts", although they may refuse to answer "questions irrelevant to the case". There is no change here. Also, the law does not provide for suspects to be notified at this stage of their right to instruct a defender.

Part II: Case Filing, Investigation and Initiation of Public Prosecution

Chapter II: Investigation: Custody of Suspects

Former Article 92 of the 1979 CPL provided that a suspect could be held in custody for two months, with a one month extension for complicated cases (with approval of the people's procuratorate at the next level up). Beyond that, NPC Standing Committee approval was required for postponement of the case.

Under the amended CPL, the same stipulations apply for the first three months (Article 124). However, further possible extensions may now be given, as follows:

* another two months (with the approval of a provincial, autonomous regional or municipal people's procuratorate) in the following cases:

- major and complicated cases in remote regions with very poor transport facilities
- major criminal gang cases
- major and complicated cases where the crimes were committed at various locations
- major and complicated cases involving a broad spectrum of crimes for which evidence is difficult to obtain (Article 126)

* a further two months, in cases where a suspect faces a sentence of 10 years or more in prison and which "cannot be concluded" within the period specified in Article 126 (Article 127).

The regulation allowing for further postponement subject to approval by the Standing Committee of the NPC has been retained

⁸Another form of detention commonly used was "shelter and investigation" (shou rong shen cha). This was a sanction under administrative law which dated back to the 1950s; it had been revived during the 1983 strike hard campaign and used to hold people for much longer periods than those permitted under the criminal procedure law (periods of up to ten years have been reported). Reports indicate that shelter and investigation is no longer to be used. However, the amendments made to the criminal procedure law do incorporate to some extent the provisions of shelter and investigation. For example, the scope of persons to which detention may be applied has been extended to cover those who formerly were held under "shelter for investigation" administrative regulations, i.e. those in the latter two examples of suspects listed above. The length of time for which those suspects may be detained has also been lengthened; see paragraph (3) above.

(Article 125). It is noteworthy that suspects can only seek release when their detention has exceeded the stipulated time periods, and prior to that point they cannot challenge the lawfulness of the detention order.

Further additions to the law are:

- * if the criminal suspect is discovered to have committed an important crime whilst under investigation for another crime, the period of custody will be recalculated starting at the date that the second crime is discovered
- * if the suspect refuses to disclose their true name, address and identity, the period of custody will be recalculated starting from the date that the suspect's true identity is known

Once investigation has been concluded, the public security organ concerned is to file a prosecution recommendation proposal with the procuratorate at the same level together with the material and evidence on file (Article 129).

At this stage, Article 96(2) provides that "according to the circumstances of the case and as necessary", the police may require that officers be present at lawyer-client meetings. Moreover, the police may use "state secrets" as a justification for denying suspects access to a lawyer at this stage (Article 96). There is again no requirement to notify suspects of their right to instruct a defender or consult a lawyer.

Chapter III: Initiation of Public Prosecution

Review by procuratorate

According to Articles 136 and 137, the procuratorate is to review cases forwarded by the public security organs to ascertain the following:

- * whether the facts and circumstances of the crime are clear, whether the evidence is reliable and complete and whether the nature of the crime and the charge are correctly determined
- * whether there are crimes that have been omitted and whether there are other persons whose criminal responsibility should be investigated
- * whether criminal responsibility should not be investigated
- * whether there is a supplementary civil action
- * whether the investigation activities were lawful

Article 138 states that the procuratorate is to decide whether to initiate a prosecution within one month. In major or complex cases there may be an extension of two weeks.

If the procuratorate requires a supplementary investigation, this may be carried out either by the procuratorate itself or by a public security organ; it may last up to one month. The law now stipulates that there can only ever be two supplementary investigations of a case; under the 1979 CPL there was no limit on the number.

Article 141 provides that if a procuratorate believes:

- * the facts about the crime have been verified
- * the evidence is reliable and adequate
- * the suspect must be held criminally responsible, it is to file a lawsuit with the court.

Appointment of defender/lawyer

Article 32 (formerly, Article 26) provides that suspects may ask one or two persons to defend them. Article 33 specifies that suspects have the right to ask defenders to defend them, starting on the day when a public prosecution has been initiated (ie when the materials are transferred to the procuratorate for a decision to prosecute). The procurate is to inform suspects that they have the right to ask defenders to defend them within 3 days of materials being received.⁹

Article 34 sets out the circumstances in which the court itself will designate a defender. Two have been added:

- * where the defendant "does not have defenders due to financial or other reasons" the court "may" designate a defender; and
 - * where the defendant may be sentenced to death and has not authorised a defender, the court "shall" designate a lawyer.
- As before, the court is to designate a defender for defendants are deaf, mute or a minor and have not authorised a defender already. The lawyers are to serve out of "legal aid duty" (falü yuanzhu yiwu); the amended CPL does not itself state how they are to be paid.

There is no time limit between prosecution and trial.

Part III: Adjudication

Chapter I: Organisation of adjudication

Major changes to the trial process are as follows:

- * Under the 1979 CPL, the court judges would carry out a pre-trial examination. Under new Article 150, the court now needs only to carry out a procedural review, not a substantial examination.
- * Under the 1979 CPL, the court president had power to submit "all major or difficult cases" to the adjudication committee for "adjudication and discussion" (former Article 107); the collegial panel (of judges and assessors) then was obliged to carry out the decisions

⁹According to Article 33, a defender may be (1) a lawyer, (2) a citizen recommended by a people's organisation, the defendant's unit, or authorised by the courts and (3) relatives or guardians of the defendant. Note that it is only when a suit is actually filed, and not before, that a suspect's defender/lawyer will have full access to the evidence against his client and of the case against him (Article 36(2)). A defender may at this stage look up, extract and duplicate documents, and meet and correspond with the suspect.

of the adjudication committee, which led to the phenomenon known as "verdict first, trial later", limiting the role of the trial court and conflicting with the principle of an open trial (former Article 8). Under new Article 149, there is a shift in emphasis: the trial court should hear and deliberate on a case, then reach a verdict. Only "difficult, complicated and major cases, where the collegial panel considers it difficult to make decisions" are to be submitted to the adjudication committee; the collegial panel is to carry out their decisions.

* Under Article 151(2), a copy of the bill of prosecution must be delivered to the defendant no later than 10 days before the starting of the court session. Under the 1979 CPL, it was seven days (Article 110(2)). Article 151(2) also states that the defendant is to be informed that he may appoint a "defender": when necessary, a lawyer must be appointed to undertake the obligation of offering legal aid. Thus, if a lawyer is not appointed until this stage, he will have only 10 days to familiarise himself with the case and the evidence - a far shorter time than that available to the procuratorate. Under the 1979 CPL the period was 7 days.

* Article 165(2) provides that a hearing may be postponed, *inter alia*, if procuratorial personnel discover that a case requires supplementary investigation, and present a proposal to this effect. Such a supplementary investigation may last no longer than a month (Article 166). The 1979 CPL stipulated in former Article 123 that, during a trial, the court could return a case to the procuratorate for supplementary investigation; there was no time limit.

* The burden of presenting the evidence and arguing the case is, under the amended CPL, to be principally borne by the prosecutor and defence counsel (Articles 154-62). Under the 1979 CPL (former Article 114), the adjudication personnel primarily had the role of questioning the defendant and witnesses and producing evidence. This confused the role of judge with that of the prosecutor or defence lawyer.

* The standard of conviction is set out in Article 162. Deliberations are to be made by the collegial panel "based on the facts and evidence that have been clarified and on the relevant provisions of law". A guilty verdict is to be given when "the facts of the case are clear, with verified and sufficient evidence, and the defendant is found guilty according to law". Under the 1979 CPL, there was no clear standard of conviction: according to former Article 120, judgement was to be "based on the facts and evidence that have been clarified and on the relevant provisions of law"¹⁰.

Judgement

Article 168 states that judgement at first instance shall be announced within one month of "accepting the case" or one and a half months at the latest. In circumstances set out in Article 126 (see under "investigation" above) there may be a postponement of a further month with the approval of a provincial, autonomous regional or municipal higher people's court.

Chapter III: Appeal (Procedure at second instance)

Article 183 specifies that appeals or protests must be made within ten days after a written judgement is received; in the case of a written order, appeal must be made within five days. This is the same as provided under the 1979 CPL. Article 196 provides that the adjudication should be concluded within one month of receiving the appeal or protest case, or one and a half months at the latest. Again, if any of the circumstances in Article 126 apply, an extension for another month is allowed with the approval of the provincial, autonomous regional or municipal higher people's court. The people's court of second instance should conclude adjudication within one month of receiving the appeal. This can be extended by another half month with approval from a higher level of people's court. As before, there is no provision for appeal beyond second instance.

Chapter IV: Procedure for review of the death sentence

Some alterations have been made in use of the death penalty, as follows:

* After adoption of the 1979 Criminal Law, during the Strike Hard campaign in 1983, some of the procedural safeguards were altered or removed in certain cases where crimes "endanger[ed] public security". The amended CPL has now reintroduced the safeguards (for example, an appeal should now be made within 10 days rather than 3 in these cases) by incorporation or nullification of the relevant Decisions.

* The amended CPL now requires all death sentences to be approved by the Supreme People's Court (Article 199). This was a requirement in the 1979 CPL which was removed by an amendment to the Organic Law in 1983, allowing the Supreme People's Court to authorise lower level courts to exercise the right of approval.

* Article 210 deals with cases of death sentences with two-year suspensions of execution. Where a criminal "has not premeditatedly committed crimes during the period of suspension of the execution", he is to be granted a reduced sentence. Where there is verified evidence that he has premeditatedly committed crimes, then the higher people's court is to submit the case to the Supreme People's Court for approval. In such cases, the 1979 CPL stated (former Article 153) that the death sentence would be commuted if the "criminal...truly repents or demonstrates meritorious service during the period of suspension", and that the sentence would be carried out "if he has resisted reform in an odious manner".

* The amended CPL stipulates that death sentences are to be executed by shooting or injection (Article 212).

* The amended CPL states that the death sentence may be carried out at the "execution ground" or a "designated detention site", which implies that the execution of the death penalty may take place in prisons. Article 212 (and former Article 155) states that death sentences are not to take place in public view.

¹⁰Note the standard applied by the procuratorate in deciding whether to bring a case - if "the facts are clear and the evidence is reliable and ample" (*beigaoren de fanzui shishi yijing chaoqing, zhengqu qieshi, chongfen...former Article 100*). The conviction rate of 99.65 per cent in Chinese courts (in 1995) indicates that this was in practice the standard for conviction. (In Tibetan courts, only 0.73 per cent were found not guilty during the five years 1992-7 (according to TAR Higher Court President Bai Zhao, in *Tibet Daily*, quoted by Reuters on 11 June 1998); the figure in 1996 was 0.43 per cent.)

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